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ART. I.—THE IMPENDING FATE OF THE COUNTRY.

THE RADICAL AND CONSERVATIVE WAR.

RADICALISM, or to speak more accurately, "Rationalism" and Conservatism are as old as mankind. The bold, the enterprising, the men of genius, energy and industry have always relied on the dictates of their own reason, regardless of the lessons, the experience and the admonitions of the past—always inventive and progressive, they are frequently rash, precipitate and inconsiderate. They constitute a necessary element in the organism of society, but unless restricted, checked, balanced and counterpoised by the conservative element, which is their opposite or antinome, they speedily become the architects of ruin, of anarchy, of agrarianism, of licentiousness, and of universal infidelity and moral depravity. Want of faith, religious, political, moral and social, and implicit reliance on the suggestions of their own reason, however unenlightened by study or experience, have been at all times the distinguishing characteristics of this party, or part of mankind.

Their necessary opposing and balancing force or antinome, the Conservatives, are studious observers of the history and experience of the past, and treasure up and heed the lessons which it teaches, because they believe that, human nature never materially changing, the religion, the laws, and the political institutions adapted to it in the past will be equally well adapted to it in the future. They fight under the banner of faith, wholly rejecting reason when it conflicts with faith in the experience, the lessons, and the authority of the past. They oppose all innovation, all change, all revolution, all progress, almost all improvement. Theirs is the stand-still policy; which is sure to become retrogressive, when not dragged along by their antinomes, the Rationalists.

Conservatives are too timid, too cautious, rely too much on

the promptings of blind bigot faith, too little on the suggestions. They have more learning than the Rationalists, but often less practical wisdom. They are, left to themselves, as dangerous guides or rulers as the Rationalists; for by opposing moderate reforms, rendered necessary by change of times and circumstances, they beget desperation, and the pent up passions of men burst out in bloody revolution, as in England under the too conservative Stuarts, and in France under the obtuse, obstinate, stupid Bourbons.

Conservatism and Radicalism, being equally necessary, are equally meritorious when justly proportioned, opposed and balanced, and equally ruinous and destructive when either party acquires an undue and prolonged ascendancy. Light and darkness, dryness and moisture, heat and cold, action and rest, sleep and wakefulness, nay, everything in the moral and physical, is equally good when duly alternated or balanced, equally evil when not counterpoised or balanced by its opposite or antinome. No doubt, everything if we knew its peculiar qualities and effects would be good and valuable in a properly compounded concrete, as everything is known to be evil in the abstract, because it exists there in the greatest possible excess.

We make these prefatory remarks, because we are about to endeavor to show that there has ever been too much Rationalism or Radicalism in the North, checked, balanced, and sufficiently counterpoised hitherto by the excessive Conservatism of the South; but that now, the South being powerless, Northern Radicalism will have full swing and dominion, and, unless the South is speedily restored to the Union, will, by rash innovations and radical changes, destroy our present form of government.

We have said, that in all societies, and all times, the parties of Faith and Reason, of Conservatism and Radicalism, have existed. Indeed, we should go farther, and say that the principles of Faith and Reason are each more or less developed in the mind of every individual, and that sometimes the one, and sometimes the other, controls individual conduct. The rash and inconsiderate rely too little on authority, experience and faith; the timid, too much.

Faith became a moral epidemic in the dark ages, as we see evidenced by the Crusades, by the despotic power exercised by the Catholic priesthood, and by the implicit obedience yielded to tyrannical rulers, who were believed to govern by Divine right, wholly irrespective of the will or the wish of the people. It would be as fruitless to inquire into the causes and origin of this moral, social and political epidemic as to attempt

to detect the causes of cholera, plague, or other physical epidemics or contagions. Indeed, as moral causes are more subtle and complex than physical ones, the search would be more hopeless in the former than in the latter case. Yet all the while that unreasoning, blind, bigot Faith sat like an incubus upon a benighted world, Reason lurked beneath, and was vainly struggling to assert her equal and legitimate dominion. The Waldenses in Switzerland and Italy, and the Wickliffites in England, in the midst of the dark ages, boldly, but rashly and prematurely, upraised the banner of Reason. Force, not argument, put them down. Men's wills were constrained, their tongues silenced, but their reasons not convinced. The infection spread slowly, stealthily, continuously and steadily, like a great subterranean fire, until, some centuries after, it broke forth from its concealment with brilliant light, in vast proportions, and with irresistible strength.

Now began the Reformation, a reformation in its purposes, in its origin and in its action, quite as much political as religious. It was the assertion of the unrestricted right to reason, and the right to act on the convictions of reason. It was, in many countries, the temporary triumph of Reason over Faith, Authority and Conservatism. But the triumph was very ephemeral. The leaders of the movement, those among the first who caught the contagious infection, and who were boldest and most active in spreading it among the people; those who at first most loudly and vehemently asserted the right of private judgment, were the very first to fall back upon conservative grounds, and to deny that right. Such were Luther, Calvin, Erasmus, Melancthon and Henry the Eighth. From that day to this, men have found it necessary to appoint the few to think and act for the many, as well in religious as in political matters. In fine, to assert, and maintain in practice, the Catholic doctrine of infallibility. Not the infallibility of a Pope and his council, but of a king, a religious convention, a synod or general assembly, who settle and prescribe articles of faith, and expel recreant church members who dare to assert the right of private judgment, and think for themselves. In political matters, there is in all countries a tribunal which is deemed infallible in its judgments, and from whose decisions there is no appeal.

When we practised law, country justices, sitting singly, were deemed infallible in their decisions when the amount in controversy did not exceed ten dollars. Individual liberty is a very pretty thing to theorize about, but is wholly inconsistent with all government and all social existence. Radicals in power always become the most cruel Conservatives, like

Cromwell and the Puritan Fathers, because they have witnessed more of the evils of unbridled liberty.

Every tyro in history knows that Protestant intolerance, that began in the days of Luther, was rendered necessary by the monstrous and iniquitous doctrines and practices of the Anabaptists and other German sects, and afterwards in England, by the dark plots and conspiracies of the Catholics, and the levelling and agrarian doctrines of the Independents and other Dissenters. Luther has been called the Apostle of Reason, with little justice, for although among the first to raise her banner, he was first and foremost in deserting it, in assuming all the powers of the Pope and his council, and in excommunicating all who dared to think for themselves. Calvin and Henry VIII. asserted the same religious supremacy, and maintained it far more cruelly. We censure neither of them, nor do we censure the Puritan Fathers of New England. Their seemingly cruel measures were necessary to restrain within proper limits the outbursts of political and religious fanaticism that threatened Protestant Europe with universal anarchy. That demon, human reason, had been unshackled and uncaged, and her diabolical doings rendered it necessary to shackle and cage her again. It was but Radicalism falling back upon Conservatism.

The worship of reason is the negation of God. All Rationalists or Radicals, to be consistent, should be infidels—infidels in religion, which is sure to carry along with it infidelity in law, government, and all old established usages, customs and institutions of society. The French thoroughly understood this, and when in their Revolution of 1789 they resolved to cut loose entirely from the past, and erect institutions founded on pure reason, they formally dethroned the Christian God, and set up in His stead the Goddess of Reason, impersonated by a prostitute. (Tom Paine would have answered just as well, but probably he was not then in Paris.) The reign of Reason in France was the reign of Terror. The elder Napoleon put an end to it, and restored conservative rule just as Cromwell had done in England. And just as the present Napoleon did, when he expelled Lamartine and his crazy socialistic associates from power, and very properly, wisely, and vigorously, assumed the reins of Empire himself.

But the snake is scotched, not killed. We live in the days of reformation run-mad. There is not a country in Europe, Russia excepted, where a majority of the people, and most of the men of genius and talent, are not radicals, socialists, and revolutionists. Immense standing armies are kept up, not for foreign war, but to keep down domestic insurrection. We

need a history of the Reformation in its political phases and consequences. Certain it is that it has kept Europe most of the time, since it broke out, involved in civil discord or open war. And the radical, disorganizing and revolutionary spirit which it begat, so far from subsiding, is more general and more intense in our day than at any former period. In America it has just ended the bloodiest civil war recorded in history. It fully achieved its professed object. It emancipated all of the negroes. Yet, so far from being satisfied, it threatens and prepares for war again, in order to compel the whites North and South to admit the brutal negro to political and social equality. When will all this war against human inequality end? Why, only by the attempt to equalize properties, which beget the only real inequalities of condition—the men of property being, in all save the name, the owners and masters of those without property. Agrarianism, openly avowed by some, is the ultimate aim and object of all honest advocates of human equality. Conservatives at the North see this, but are afraid to charge it home upon the Radicals, lest they should precipitate the dreaded event by making the accusation, just as Cicero hurried Catiline into civil war, by charging him with the intention to make war.

Despite of all the evils, religious, social, and political, that the Reformation has visited upon mankind, we still think that, on the whole, it has, so far, been productive of much more of good than of evil. 'Tis the future that we dread. Socialism, the exact counterpart of that which now pervades Christendom, fastened upon Greece in the days of Socrates and Plato. Socialism, that sapped the foundations of every law, custom, and institution of society, by subjecting them to the crucible of dialectic and analytical logic. It was the advice of Socrates to his scholars to test every thing by reason, and reject what was unreasonable. Thus he made them sceptics or infidels in every thing; for every thing in the physical and in the moral world is incomprehensible to human reason, super-reasonable, and, therefore, unreasonable. Soon throughout Greece there was faith and conviction about nothing. Men had no aims in life, because too inquisitive reason had satisfied them of the vanity and insanity of all human pursuits and human attainments. In two generations thereafter Greece fell, to rise no more. The fall of the Roman Republic was preceded and occasioned by a like sceptical and infidel philosophy. Now, in our day, this want of faith and conviction about everything is the great distinguishing feature of society throughout Christendom, save in the Southern States of the Union—and they are under the ban of public opinion, because they appeal to the usages of the

past to justify the ways of the present. The state of "dissolution and thaw," of transition, revolution, and chaotic anarchy, which afflicts, or threatens, all other Christian society than ours, is thus well portrayed by a distinguished Northern socialist and abolitionist: "Hitherto the struggle between conservatism and progress has seemed doubtful. Victory has kissed the banner alternately of either host. At length the serried ranks of conservatism falters. Reform, so-called, is becoming confessedly more potent than its antagonist. The admission is reluctantly forced from pallid lips, that revolutions, *political, social and religious*, constitute the programme of the coming age. Reform, so-called, for weal or woe, but yet reform, must rule the hour. The older constitutions of society have outlived their day. No truth commends itself more universally to the minds of men now than that thus set forth by Mr. Carlyle: 'There must be a new world, if there is to be any world at all. That human things in our Europe can ever return to the old sorry routine, and proceed with any steadiness or continuance there—this small hope is not now a tenable one. These days of universal death must be days of universal new birth, if the ruin is not to be total and final! It is time to make the dullest man consider and ask himself, Whence he came? Whither he is bound? A veritable "New Era" to the foolish as well as to the wise.' " Nor is this state of things confined to Europe. The agitations in America may be more peaceful, but they are not less profound. The foundations of beliefs and habits of thought are breaking up. *The old guarantees of order are fast falling away.* A veritable "New Era," with us too, is alike impending and inevitable. A little further on Mr. Stephen Pearl Andrews asserts (for it is from him we quote): "All government, in the sense of involuntary restraint upon the individual, or substantially all, must finally cease, and along with it, the whole complicated paraphernalia and trumpery of Kings, Emperors, Presidents, Legislatures and Judiciary. I assert that the indicia of this result abound in existing society." Well, Mr. Stephens is at least somewhat of a prophet. Four millions of negroes have been remitted from slavery to the largest liberty since he wrote. "All involuntary restraint upon the individual" has, so far as the negro is concerned, been removed, and a Congress, professedly Radical, is daily violating the constitution, disregarding all old laws, usages, and practices, usurping all the powers of government, and threatening to impeach and behead the President, unless the South be restored to the Union, and thus a Conservative balance be given to our institutions, by a union of the Conservatives of the North with the entire Conservative South. The

fanatical and destructive Radical majority in Congress will, like their prototypes and predecessors, the Long Parliament in England, and the National Assembly in France, soon inaugurate anarchy, speedily to be wound up by military despotism.

Looking to the blood, the ancestry, and the antecedents of the New England people (who rule the North with a rod of iron) and to that of the Southern people, and we find the former fanatics, radicals, and destructives by inheritance, just the same people now as in the days of Cromwell's Independents, and of the witch-burners and Quaker hangers two centuries ago; whilst we find the Southern people by inheritance, and continuous usage, the most conservative people in the Christian world—we might say without far departing from truth—the only conservative people in the civilized world. If a conservative reaction can be inaugurated, if that social chaos, religious scepticism and infidelity, political anarchy, agrarianism, Free Love, and contemplated destruction of all the old institutions, can be warded off and averted, it can only be effected by the untrammelled aid of the South. Men who have a stake in society at the North begin to see all this; but, we fear, they have discovered it too late. The masses may have been too deeply imbued with destructive principles and practices, taught by their leaders, now to be withheld from their long-expected prey. Yet the experiment is worth trying. Southern aid alone can save the North from universal ruin. Will that aid be called in?

The people of the entire South are mostly descended from the early settlers of Virginia and Maryland. Those settlers were high-toned Monarchists, Legitimatists, Cavaliers, Tories of the English stamp and descent, Jacobites, Catholics, Church of England men, and scions of the English gentry and nobility.

In England society was divided pretty equally into Liberals and Conservatives; but in early Virginia and Maryland all were Conservatives. Hence their hatred of Cromwell and his revolutionists, and their attachment to the Stuarts. Originally conservative, the champion of faith rather than the follower of reason, attached to the Past, its customs, habits, usages, prescriptions, laws, and institutions, confiding in experience, and distrusting experiments, opposed to innovation and change, the South was happy, peaceful, and contented, until assailed by Northern abolition. That unjust assault intensified her conservatism; for to justify the institution of slavery she could not rely on mere abstract reasoning, but was compelled to cite as her defence and justification, the almost universal usages of mankind, and the authority of Holy Writ. When she seceded

from the North, and set up an independent government of her own, in the true spirit of conservatism, she modelled her Constitution after that of the Union, because that Constitution, save on the subject of slavery, had worked well in practice. Since her councils and influence have been wanting to the Union, that Constitution, which she respected, has been neglected, oft violated, changed, and almost obliterated by the Radicals, who pretended to wage war, merely for its preservation; yet with all her conservatism, there was not so happy, moral, religious, and prosperous a people on earth as the South, when the late war began. Even now we think her situation preferable to that of any other people, because she is moral, religious, and conservative; breeds no isms, superstitions, nor infidelities; is not threatened with social revolution and anarchy; and, more than all, has abundance of good land, and no fears of plethora of population, the most common and the most appalling of all the evils that now afflict, or impend over, most other societies.

Such is a faint, hastily-drawn picture of the conservative South, in the past and in the present. Let us now turn to the radical North, its history, its antecedents, its settlement, its present condition and future prospects. Our object being conciliation, peace, and amicable union, we shall be as little censorious as is consistent with a decent regard to truth. The Puritan Fathers were sincere, earnest, conscientious men, but bigoted, fanatical, intolerant, narrow-minded, and cruel in the extreme. Yet, we believe, their cruelty and intolerance were matters of necessity. They had, in Europe, indoctrinated their flocks in the theories of the Right of Private Judgment, of Human Equality, and of all kinds of social, political, and religious levelling and destructiveness. In America, surrounded by bloodthirsty savages, and in danger of daily attack, it was imperatively necessary that all should think alike, in order to preserve harmony and ready concert of action. Yet none but the most rigid and cruel measures could beget harmony of action among colonists accustomed hitherto each to think and act for himself. Like Cromwell and the two Napoleons, the Puritan Priesthood began life as demagogues, agitators and destructives, and ended it as usurpers and tyrants. Yet they were tyrants from necessity; it was but the price of a healthful and much needed conservatism. But the spasmodic conservatism of usurpers is of short duration. It is sustained by no prescription, no old faith, no prestige, no venerable institutions, and ends with the lives or deposition of the strong-armed and strong-willed usurpers who institute it. We admire New England under the early Puritan Fathers. Then she was truly

"a land of steady habits." But as they passed off the stage, and Church government became relaxed, men with no reverence for authority, no respect for, or faith in, the past, began each to reason out a religion for himself, and as no two men's reasons led to exactly the same conclusions, there are now almost as many religions, isms, infidelities, and superstitions in New England as there are men—we should rather say than men and women combined, for the women are quite as prolific of creeds, social, religious, and political, as the men. The destructive doctrines of New England have been sown broadcast throughout the North; have everywhere taken deep root and are bearing bitter fruits. An immense immigration of German infidelity has but served to give a more loathsome and disgusting character to Yankee isms. Protestant Germany is infidel, agrarious, and destructive.

True to her destructive instincts, her early associations, her blood, and her descent, New England took zealous part with the fanatical and foolish Independents who murdered that mild ruler, that Christian gentleman and accomplished scholar, Charles the First, and admired and approved the brutal Cromwell, quite as much when he played usurper and military despot as when, in his earlier days, he played canting hypocrite, demagogue, and destructive.

Then, as now, New England Radicals were equally ready for anarchy or military despotism. These Radicals, with their tools, the German infidels, rule this nation, and if undisturbed in power, will soon ruin it. We believe that men, at heart conservative, are in a majority in many parts of the North, but they are deceived by misrepresentations of the feeling and intentions of the people of the South, industriously spread by the more active, cunning, designing, and unprincipled Radicals. We have little hope for the future, yet we will work on to detect crime and falsehood, although we may be able to do nothing to re-establish truth and rectitude. The American Republic is near its end. Affairs will, probably, wind up with civil war and military despotism at the North, in which the South will be reluctantly involved; and then for ages to come, the nation will be involved in continual civil war, for we are not prepared for hereditary monarchy, and have no materials out of which to construct an Established Church and a hereditary aristocracy, as props and stays to such a monarchy.

We will conclude by remarking that this balance of power between Conservatives and Rationalists, which we advocate, has been practised successfully in England for more than a hundred and seventy years. Since the days of William and Mary, the Whigs and Tories have kept watch and guard over each

other, and over the nation, and participated equally in rule. The Tories are conservative, for the most part, agreeing with Sir Robert Filmer, that all officers of government hold and exercise their offices by Divine right. The Whigs are progressive, rationalistic, radical, and agree with Locke in his absurd doctrines of human equality and the social contract. These are the antinomies or opposing forces that so admirably sustain the English Government. The North and the South would pretty well supply the places, or act the part, of these forces in America.

ART. II.—TIMES IN THE CONFEDERACY.

[The reader may, if he pleases, suppose the pages which follow to be written by some venerable person a generation hence. They form part of a little work, based upon that idea, which will soon be issued from the press.—EDITOR.]

CHAPTER XVII.—SCARCITY—INGENIOUS CONTRIVANCES, ETC., OF THE PEOPLE.

IT must not be concluded from what has been said that there was anything like a general distribution throughout the interior of the country of the articles which were so abundantly run through the blockade, nor that they came into the general use of the people. Large as were the quantities, they went but a small way in satisfying the general want, and the extravagant prices which were asked, and the difficulties, at times impossibility, of transportation excluded all but the wealthier classes, or those who were making money out of the war, or those who dwelt in the larger towns and cities, from their consumption. The people of the country generally were reduced to great extremities, so far as everything but mere crude provisions was concerned, and of this often there was a deficiency. The stock of shoes, clothing, household utensils, blankets, and articles of every sort indispensable to comfort, and previously introduced from other quarters, ran very low, and could not be replaced without a resort often to the most ingenious contrivances. Even calicoes were impracticable, and home-spuns—sometimes, however, of very beautiful finish and patterns—from native looms, took their place. The industry of the women knew no limit; socks and woollens, for home use and for the soldiers, were fabricated in immense quantities. Sometimes we contrived to make a sort of blanket and a substitute for the carpet when these were all gone to the hospitals. The tin cup and the tin plate took the place of the glass and china; even the tin teapot, lamp and wash-basin. Old barrels were sawed into tubs, and ordinary dry

goods boxes, among the scarcest of articles, answered for very good trunks. Candles and soap we made well enough from pine gum and sometimes myrtle wax, for tallow was a very precious commodity. Thousands contrived to do without other lights than blazing slips of pine wood. Ladies' bonnets were turned and twisted in a variety of ways, and every old piece of ribbon found its use. Rice and wheat, straw and palmetto, were worked up into pretty hats by the ladies for their husbands, sons, sweethearts, and for themselves. We even made very good cloth shoes, and such was the scarcity of leather and shoemakers, that shoes and boots were an extravagant luxury. The children went without them, and it was whispered that even many of the young ladies dispensed with their service about the house. A silk dress or a broad cloth suit were a fortune, and those who chanced to have them in good condition felt a little ashamed to become conspicuous by their use. The old articles were burnished up in a sort of way and held out very well.

We extemporized pots, kettles, ovens, frying pans, water buckets, brooms, &c., and every household was in some respect a curiosity shop. The Yankees themselves were not more ingenious. We made very good beer from persimmons, good wine from native grapes, and, in the way of ostentation, would sometimes make a fruit cake, in which dried apples would substitute citron. It was a day of substitutes. The sorghum supplied the place of molasses and even sugar! Rye, wheat, potatoes, pea-nuts, Indian meal, according to fancy, found their place in the drink which we called coffee. We ceased to make odd faces over it at last, even when sweetened with molasses and taken without milk. The dried leaves of the raspberry and blackberry answered very well for tea. Bacon could be cured with ashes without salt. Corn and wheat could be ground in coffee mills, when Sherman destroyed our steam mills. We *split* boards from the trees, and even at last began to make cotton cards. The deficiency of these was the greatest difficulty we had to contend with in supplying cloth after our manufacturing establishments were all destroyed by the enemy. These he never spared. Bird shot was readily made by the boys when powder could be had. Domestic ink proved to be a good article, and as to writing paper, the blank leaves of every old ledger were taken out; every old memorandum book or merchant's record was cup up, and envelopes were turned and turned until there was no place left to write upon. The old goose quill again had its day, and as for schoolbooks, every repository was ransacked, and the mutilated remnants of previous generations of boys

and girls came forth. A friend of mine gave fifty dollars for a grammar. The negroes made excellent brooms, baskets and mats, which they peddled around. We used the native roots and herbs for medicines, and our physicians found substitutes for quinine, calomel and opium. One of them wrote an excellent work to teach the use of the fields and forests. Even ice was artificially produced for the use of the government money presses and for the hospitals.

The horses were in the army. So we walked to church, to which no bells summoned, and in which no cushioned seats or carpeted aisles awaited us. Ox carts were in fashion, and sometimes oxen were yoked to carriages. Women ploughed in the field. The umbrella disappeared, and no one regarded heat or rain, nor cared where he slept or in what unfavored climes the chances of the war threw him. Window glass, locks, nails, were all out of the question, though it must be said in the scarcity of everything pilfering came to be a very common vice, and nothing was safe that was not actually under the eye. No one repaired anything. Houses, gates, fences, when they grew dilapidated, remained so; and how could it be otherwise, when the men were all in the army, and the shops of the artisans were all closed, and in the struggle for existence who could stop to think of such things? Thread, needles, pins, buttons, became articles of luxury. There were no segars, and the pipe was an elegant accomplishment, and in the absence of brandies and wines, the vilest drinks were elaborated, under the names of whiskey and rum, from the sorghum, and even, as it was believed, from pine knots and china berries! This was often sold at from \$50 to \$75 a quart, and the wonder was how so many found means to buy it. Drinking grew to be a common vice, and did great harm to the cause. Meats were always scarce, and few persons could enjoy the luxury of their use more than once a day, and many did without them entirely. The same of butter.

It must be remembered that I am only speaking of the interior of the country. In the large cities, such as Richmond, Mobile, and at times Charleston and Wilmington, all the luxuries of Europe were to be found, and many people lived as well nearly as in the days of profoundest peace.

With us in the country there were no stores, or if a solitary shop contrived to keep open, within was a beggarly account of ghastly and empty shelves and counters, with a few odds and ends of utility scattered here and there. Household traded with household, and what was called barter came to be universal. We gave our cloth for bacon and chickens, or obtained them as equivalent for clothing, which we could not use.

Nothing was without a value. Nothing was wasted. Economy and retrenchment were the order of the day, and everything was turned to account.

Well do I recollect the day when the armies had been disbanded, and the first arrival of merchandise was announced. A wagon loaded reached our little village, and how people flocked to the lone shop that opened! What monarch ever enjoyed banquet more than we did the coarse herring and mackerel we had once despised, and what a treat did the cheese, the soda crackers, and the genuine tea and coffee offer, and with what wondering eyes did everybody look upon the piles of bleached cloth and calico, and bright shining shoes, and perfumed soap, and star candles! It was not known that there was so much left in the world. How the stock disappeared and how new arrival after arrival was so greedily absorbed, and people marvelled that so much gold and silver came out of its retreats and went into circulation again!

In all their trials and sufferings—and these which we have been describing, though very great, were among the least—the people of the Confederacy kept up a cheerful and hopeful spirit, and felt the utmost confidence of eventual triumph.

CHAPTER XVIII.—CONFEDERATE MONEY—GOLD AND PRICES.

There were two reasons for the rapid and almost marvellous rise in the prices of almost every article which was used in the Confederacy, and these were their scarcity, as previously explained, and the depreciation in the value of the currency as compared with gold. In reference to such articles as cotton, naval stores and tobacco, land, negroes, etc., to which the first reason was inapplicable, the question of the currency was alone involved.

And now I will explain a little as to what is meant by this question of the currency.

At the beginning of the war gold and silver were everywhere in use among the people, and for the sake of convenience the notes of local banks, which could always be exchanged for specie, were preferred to the specie itself. In times of public trouble, gold, an article of great value in small bulk, generally disappears from circulation, and is hoarded or buried to provide against possible contingencies. This immediately happened in the Confederacy, and bank notes came to be the only money. These the government borrowed or received in collecting its dues or in exchange for its bonds, (or future promises to pay,) though the first of its "loans" was a strictly *gold* loan, and was granted with hearty good will by the people. After that

government found it necessary to issue bonds in immense amounts, to be exchanged for products in the market, or to be used in the absorption of its own issues, which were in the nature of bank notes or promises to pay amount represented at a future date. This time for payment was in general fixed at "six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace with the United States" recognizing the Confederacy, and if there was no such recognition, of course, the notes were only so much waste paper.

When the issues commenced people were greedy to receive them, and it was not until some months had passed before a dollar in gold represented more than its equivalent in Confederate money. This state of things, as might naturally have been expected, could not last, when the government was rapidly expending the most enormous sums and making no adequate provision in the way of taxes, to meet the expenditure. Politicians proved unequal to the crisis. They seemed to shrink from the responsibility of increasing the burden of taxation, and feared to meet the people squarely upon this issue until it was too late. It was an error, for such was the popularity of the cause that almost any sacrifices would from the beginning have been cheerfully encountered.

There were other causes which had much to do with the regular and rapid decline in the value of Confederate notes, and these were the facility with which they were counterfeited by the enemy; the alleged bad faith at times of the authorities in practically repudiating, by taxing, the issues, and finally, and what, no doubt, was of greater consequence than either, though I admit it sadly, the general spirit of trading which came into vogue, requiring federal money, or gold, for its purposes. Distrust of the eventual success of the cause operated upon some, and even those who regarded that success inevitable when the debt assumed colossal proportions, believed that the resources of the country could never be adequate to meet it. This was undoubtedly a mistake, as the experience of the United States afterwards proved; but the fact was, our people had no idea of the prodigious energies of taxation, or of how much the national industry could bear.

It must be observed, however, that the prices of articles of home make never did rise among us in proportion to the rise in the value of gold as compared with Confederate money. Thus, when a dollar of the former was held as an equivalent for one hundred of the latter, corn and wheat, instead of being one hundred times higher than before the war, were not more than five and ten times, and in some parts of the country, as in portions of Mississippi, were not more than two or three times. Blockade goods, on the contrary, kept a close relation with gold.

It is difficult to estimate the actual amount of bonds and notes issued by the Confederate government, but it could not have reached, in all, much less than two thousand millions of dollars, and had the war continued after 1865, it would have been necessary to resort to some other expedient to maintain the finances. Paper issues, upon the old basis, were no longer practicable, and hence it began to be proposed to issue notes redeemable in future in cotton, tobacco, wheat, etc., which the government would collect in the way of tithes from the people. It is quite certain that every scheme of finance which was adopted, however plausibly advocated and ably maintained, only seemed to make matters worse—and in this department of our administration the historian will find one of the causes of the eventual downfall of the cause.

The machinery by means of which these immense issues of money were kept up is worthy of some remark. At first the plates, the paper, etc., were made at the North; but afterwards they were run through the blockade from England, and with them came the presses and the workmen. After a while we made very good note paper ourselves. The bonds and notes were issued from Richmond and from Columbia, S. C., and finally an office was established on the trans-Mississippi. The two former offices were immense establishments, employing many hundred women, who clipped the edges or affixed the signatures. Every day or two an agent left the office in Columbia for Richmond, having in charge huge boxes of this money. Ladies, who had been among the wealthiest and most aristocratic in the country, were glad to obtain situations in these offices. The notes, at first, were very rude, and the Northern counterfeiters could not make them so badly, and thus they exposed their hands; but afterwards our notes and bonds were nearly as handsome as their own greenbacks.

Referring to the extravagant prices which prevailed, a writer of the day said:

"One of the most difficult things which our children will find to understand in reference to the existing war, will be that which puzzled the present generation not a little, with reference to the times of the old Revolution—viz: the almost fabulous prices which obtained for the indispensable articles of life, and, the wonder will be how it was that people were ever enabled to pay them. Let it be put upon record for the benefit of these children that their fathers and mothers paid not seldom for a bushel of corn from \$20 to \$75; a barrel of flour \$250 to \$400; a ham or shoulder of bacon \$70 to \$100; a pound of sugar or butter \$8 to \$15; a pair of ladies' shoes \$150; a pair of gentlemen's boots \$250 to \$400; a felt hat \$125; a yard of calico \$15; of unbleached domestics \$7; a shirt \$75; a lady's bonnet \$250; a suit of clothes for a gentleman, or a lady's silk dress, \$2,000; board at the hotels \$20 to \$50 per day; a single meal or bed \$10; a gallon of whiskey \$150; a Spanish segar or drink at a bar-room \$3. Yet people drink and smoke and dress, and the ladies look as neat and as pretty as ever, and nobody seems to apprehend starvation.

The following table will show the fluctuating value of Confederate money, as compared with gold. It brings to mind the experiences of the old American Revolution.

January, 1862, \$100 gold equals \$120 currency.

March, " " "	150	"
August, " " "	200	"
Dec'ber, " " "	300	"
March, 1863, " " "	400	"
July, " " "	700	"
October, " " "	1,000	"
Dec'ber, " " "	1,700	"
March, 1864, " " "	2,000	"
Sept'ber " " "	3,000	"
Jan'y, 1865, " " "	3,400	"
March, " " "	5,000	"
April, " " "	Exit.	

PRICES OF PROVISIONS.

This Price-Current was copied from a Mobile paper. Provisions rose fully fifty per cent, from January, 1865, until the close of the war.

Articles.	Jan'y, 1862.	Jan'y, 1863.	Jan'y, 1864.	Jan'y, 1865.
Flour, extra, bbl.....	\$11.25	\$57.00	\$100.40	\$300.00
" superfine, bbl..	10.00	53.00	100.20	275.00
" fine, bbl.....	8.00	50.00	100.10	250.00
Corn meal, bush.....	1.00	3.00	.....	7.00
Corn, sack.....	88	3.00	4.50	8.50
Coffee, Rio lb.....	60	3.25	11.50	50.00
Sugar, brown, lb.....	07	35	3.00	12.00
" refined, lb....	23	1.00	4.00	.....
Butter, country, lb....	50	1.00	3.50	8.00
Eggs, doz.....	20	1.00	2.00	....
Bacon, lb.....	21	30	3.25	3.75
Lard, lb.....	19	53	3.00	3.00
Fresh Beef, lb.....	08	15	85	1.25
Fresh Pork, lb.....	14	30	1.25	1.50
Coal, Shelby, ton....	15.00	....	150.00	200.00
Candles, Sperm, lb....	75	2.00	12.00	.....
Salt, Liverpool, sack..	10.00	....	.....	38.00
Soap, hard, lb.....	12	50	80	2.50
Tallow, lb.....	18	80	1.50	5.00
Potatoes, sweet, bush..	1.10	2.50	5.00	12.00
" Irish, bbl....	10.00	....	60.00	80.00
Onions, bbl.....	8.00	....	.....	100.25
Chickens, doz.....	3.50	7.00	25.00	75.00
Turkeys, doz.....	10.00	30.00	75.00	100.44
Rice, lb.....	07	12	23	2.00
Cow-peas, bush.....	1.00	2.75	6.00	14.00
Molasses, N. O. gal....	50	2.50	14.00	20.00
Apples, dried, lb.....	07	28	60	2.00
Peaches, dried, lb....	17	38	90	3.00
Beeswax, lb.....	30	90	1.75	5.00
Wheat, bush.....	1.50	.....	7.00	28.00
Wool, Oak, cord.....	3.50	15.00	30.00	70.00

ART. III.—SKETCHES OF FOREIGN TRAVEL.

LONDON, *November 3d*, 1866.

DEAR REVIEW,—In no other country in Europe, perhaps, are there as many of those vast repositories, so interesting to the student of science, the antiquarian, and the lover of the curious, as in England. The hardy and adventurous character of the English people, the immense wealth amassed in the hands of English capitalists, and the generous succor they have habitually extended to the embellishment of their country, have conspired to make England a storehouse, which every other nation of the world has contributed to endow. Chief among those great magazines, to which the Englishman appeals with reasonable pride, is

THE BRITISH MUSEUM.—The Museum, like the Crystal Palace, belongs to that imperial family of the wonderful, which exact the respectful study of whole days, and which treat with crushing contempt any effort at a description on the hither side of an octavo. England has remorselessly ransacked every continent, and every known bit of land and water; and all their curiosities in botany, geology, anatomy, zoology, sculpture, carving, architecture, and literature, have been bought, taken, or stolen, and deposited in the British Museum.

The grand halls on the ground floor are devoted to antiquities, and there Greece and Rome respond to the incantation of art, and live again, in the immortal beauty of their discolored and broken statues. There, from Julius Cæsar back to Homer, Greece and Rome are reproduced, in the marble but speaking faces of their great warriors, poets, and statesmen. There, Sardanapalus in the hunt, in the battle, in the revel, and very much in drink, is wrought in everlasting stone. There is Egypt, in colossal statues of lions, winged and man-headed, which are covered with inscriptions that address us with inscrutable eloquence, in the essentially dead language of hieroglyphics. There are Nimrod and Babylon, handed down to us portably, in the gew-gaws and jewels with which their famous beauties upset the emotional economy of the Babylonish male. A pretty English girl, with carnation cheeks and an interrogative nose, who happened to be sharing my inspection of the jewels, wondered, with feminine horror, how women could have deformed themselves with such ornamental eye-sores. Keeping her nose steadily in mind, I temperately suggested that the fashion of to-day was always the text of to-morrow's surprise. She left me abruptly, with the evident conviction that I was endeavoring to pave the way for a conun-

drum. Arranged in the same case with the condemned jewels are a number of copper dishes, off of some of which it is entirely within the sphere of speculation that that Daniel-ridden person, Belshazzar himself, might have dined.

An entire room in the Museum is consigned to the hospitable entertainment of *mummies*. There, in coarse-looking rags and wooden fibers, are conserved the mouldy bones, which were swathed in tissue, and tenanted with souls, at a period whereunto it strains the imagination to reach. Among the human relics, and also preserved by the mummy process, are cats, and dogs, and crocodiles, and other animals sacred to the Egyptians. My fingers itched with curiosity to unloose the bandages, and see how our ancient friends stood the wear and tear of a long, sedentary existence. But hands off is the despotic law of the domicile, and this leaves to the spectator, in the matter of mummies, but the dry inspection of an oblong and shapeless mass, with no exterior savor of humanity.

In the room adjoining the mummies, anatomy holds high carnival. I was shown there, amid an army of other things too multitudinous to mention, a skeleton of the megatherium, the mastodon of Buenos Ayres, and one of the great American mastodon. Just in the rear of the American mastodon is a curiosity which attracted me more than any other object of interest in the collection. It is the skeleton of a human being, embedded in rock, and every part is present necessary to establish its identity. It is of South American origin, having been discovered in a limestone quarry of Guadaloupe. By the side of this, it may be that even the Egyptian mummies sink into comparative infancy. To attempt to reckon back to the time at which this skeleton, now immured in rock, was clothed in flesh, and animated with spirit, puts the mind in one of those mazes where darkness glowers from all directions, unless, indeed, our geologists can throw upon the inquiry a ray of negative light. What a measureless field for vague romance is opened by these poor bones, sealed up in their stony crypt! Mr. Wilkie Collins is amicably invited to consider it. He has evinced such signal capacity for moral anatomy, he would probably find it a congenial theme.

In the department of ornithology, I saw a real specimen of the bird of paradise. The body and wings are of a nut brown, and the neck and head of a light golden color. The tail, as with the peacock, is the great feature of ornament. It spreads out into drooping and gorgeous plumes, of a deep saffron hue near the body, but passes by imperceptible transitions to pale golden as it leaves the body, and ends in a delicate purple. The effect is indescribably filmy, unreal,

floss-like, and graceful. The bird is brought from New Guinea, and is about the size of a sparrow-hawk.

In the section devoted to shells, the most interesting specimen on deposit to me, was the *pearl oyster*. It is nearly identical with the common oyster as to shape and size, but its interior surface is much whiter and more glossy. The natural pearl is found cemented to this inner surface in the form of globules, of greater or less size. The Chinese use artificial means to stimulate their pearl muscles to secrete the precious bauble. They introduce small leaden figures into the shell, and these, in the course of time, become encrusted with what is termed pearly *macre*. The *macre* is then, by chemical process, converted into the merchantable pearl.

To not a few, probably, the Library attached to the Museum would prove its most attractive feature. It contains ninety thousand volumes, and all of them in splendid binding. It is full, moreover, of curiosities. It possesses the autographs of an immense number of famous people; many specimens on vellum of the illuminated printing of the middle ages, and various other literary oddities, of which only the librarian and his catalogue can provide the explanation.

HAMPTON COURT.—I have just returned from a delightful carriage drive, and a yet more delightful day's experience at Hampton Court. It is only a few miles from the city, and the route to it travels through one of the most charming suburban dependencies of London. The road is so smooth, the journey so short, and the town melts by such insensible gradations into the country, that you do not fairly realize you have left London until you reach Hampton Court. A carriage drive beyond the city limits is always gratefully enlivened by troops of juvenile beggars, who throng your pathway, and turn amazing somersaults with great fluency for your entertainment. They employ a touchstone of character, which seems to afford them entire satisfaction. If you reward them with a penny, they herald you as a gentleman; if you hold on to the penny, they inform you with perfect frankness that you are a blackguard. I have practiced both of the experiments, and had myself duly classified.

The famous palace of Hampton Court first grew into observation under the proprietorship of that pious politician, Cardinal Wolsey, who purchased, and made it his chief place of residence. There it was that he maintained the immense retinue of dependents, and other appliances of regal state, which eclipsed the Court of Henry VIII., and festered in the heart of that amiable marrying man. In consequence of the jealousy which its overshadowing splendor aroused in the king,

the good cardinal made a virtue of necessity, and presented him with it. From that period it has continued in the possession of the Crown. An addition was made to it under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren, which so enlarged its dimensions that it now occupies eleven acres of ground. As a place of residence, it has not been used by the English sovereigns since the time of William IV. It, with the immense park attached to it, now serves community purposes, being thrown open every day for the inspection of promiscuous visitors.

The palace proper is converted into a splendid gallery of art, infinitely surpassing in the range and rareness of its collections the "National Gallery" in London. Correggio, Guido, Angelo, Raphael, Lely, West, Bordoune, and a host of lesser lights, irradiate its walls, until they glow in their luminous transfiguration. Some of the rooms are monopolized by the works of a single master. Sir Peter Lely, for example, has a separate room assigned him, in which he has gathered a rich bouquet of the court beauties who shone contemporaneously with him. A more gorgeous congress of full-blown loveliness never solicited the masculine eye. If Sir Peter only painted what he saw, he must have been admirably qualified on some points of female anatomy, for no man ever had a less encumbered opportunity of inspecting the female figure from the waist up.

Other rooms in the palace are illustrated by many artists in common, some of them with their walls broken up into a hundred gleaming squares, by miniatures and portraits of small size, while others again are under the solemn dominion of a few massive specimens, stretching from floor to ceiling. You gaze there, until the functions of sight are worried out, and the brain fairly reels before the great mob of impressions which beset it for record.

A visitor at the gallery is expected, as a matter of course, to fling himself into a voiceless ecstasy over the celebrated *cartoons* of Raphael. As a further stimulus towards the conventional ecstasy, the spectator is intrusted with the stunning item, that five millions of dollars apiece for these cartoons have been offered to, and refused by, the English government. Notwithstanding the natural instinct in every independent mind to rebel, at a demand made upon its admiration by a tyranny so imperious as the reputation of Raphael, and notwithstanding the suspicion which may arise in such cases, of admiring what it is fashionable to admire, I concede that I have never been so utterly engrossed and transported out of myself by a work of art as by these cartoons. I believe I may

honestly entertain the innocent vanity, that in my enjoyment of works coming from the brush and the chisel I am not governed by conventional estimate, for in the majority of specimens I have yet seen, held as achievements by the many, I have experienced more or less disappointment. In the cartoons of Raphael, on the contrary, I surrendered myself at discretion, to a sense of simple and unquestioning enjoyment. Everything about them is so obviously true, propriety of arrangement is so eloquent in all their details, and they radiate upon you such a stilling sense of divine power, that one sits under them in a great tranquillity, with a bit of awe stealing into his heart, and enjoys them as he has enjoyed nothing else, since the time he looked upon mysterious things with a wondering, wide open, child's eye.

The one among them which above all others riveted my attention, was the picture of the two Apostles at the gates of the city, healing the cripple. I cannot conceive that it lies within the possibilities of art to construct a more triumphant illusion. The agony of supplication which rends the cripple's face, the aspect of God-like benignity which glorifies the countenance of the healer, and the massive columns of the sculptured gates, are wrought with a fidelity to nature, and a depth of passionate vigor, which subdue the critical beholder into abject worship. The incarnating genius of the synthetic towers above the abstract genius of the analytic, and subjects it to vassalage.

The cartoons are seven in number, and so called from their being painted upon paper.

The park surrounding the palace, a very extensive one, is covered with a smooth, green sward, tastefully disposed into terraces and flower gardens, animated with fountains and ornamental fish ponds, and picturesquely alive with large droves of deer. Five or six avenues extend from the palace at regular intervals, and reach to the confines of the park. These avenues are skirted by the noblest trees I have seen in England, all handsome representatives of the ancient families of the lime and the horse-chestnut. They hedge the avenues, four rows deep on either side. Their limbs shoot out courageously from the trunk, nearly on a level with the ground, and soar up ambitiously, in a conical shape, to a very considerable height. They maintain such intimate social relations that their branches interlace, and, seen from the palace, they produce the pleasant illusion of steep, solid, and continuous embankments of emerald.

Just in the rear of the palace, the woods thicken into an impenetrable forest. There, except that pretty gravel walks

serpentine in all directions, every thing is in the unpruned and tangled luxuriance which betokens nature under primitive conditions. There the wild birds sing with frantic exuberance and relish; there the leaves fall and decay untouched, and there the ground-moss, which never colonizes where the sun peeps, monopolizes the surface of the earth.

But for the laughing crowd and fluttering ribbons which circulated about me, and the vivid absence of mosquitoes, I could have fancied myself in the bowels of a Louisiana swamp. What a startling contrast! this little patch of wild and unlicensed nature, dumped irrelevantly in the very penetralia of artificial civilization. After a visit to Hampton Court one is prepared to accept the two propositions, that extremes may meet, and that they cannot meet anywhere else under auspices more seductive to the eye and to the imagination.

Truly yours,

CARTE BLANCHE.

ART. IV.—NAPOLEON'S LIFE OF CÆSAR. VOL. II.

THE old adage, that it takes a thief to catch a thief, contains a principle of universal application. We may as well say it takes a hero to enter into the aspirations, to comprehend the designs, to appreciate the trials, and to sympathize with the sufferings of an heroic spirit.

Says Carlyle, "The Poet who could merely sit in a chair, and write stanzas, would never make a stanza worth much. He could not sing the heroic warrior unless he were at least an heroic warrior too." We like our likes, and we seek the companionship of kindred spirits, not only in the social circle, and in the active concerns of life, but as well amongst the fictitious characters of romance and the real characters of history. The commonplace wisdom of another adage, "Birds of a feather flock together," is only a variation of the same idea, and the magpies of history, as well as those of the farm-yard, cannot conceal their lineage under the peacock's plumage. Napoleon cries out, "Hail fellow, well met!" to Cæsar, across the chasm of eighteen centuries, and the hero of the *coup d'état* of A. D. 1852, is at home with him who crossed the Rubicon in 49 B. C.

As little a man as Boswell, it is true, wrote one of the best biographies that has ever been written, and of one of the greatest men that has ever been written about; but it is a good biography, not because it gives us his idea of Johnson, but because it tells us all about him, and leaves us to form our own. No more talent was required to do the work that Boswell did than is required in the apprentice of a photographer, who has had the instrument furnished him, the chemicals mixed, the appliances placed at his hand, the

principal living, and in attitude before him, and must himself merely go through a few mechanical motions to produce a picture. But to perform the task undertaken by Napoleon, there was required a combination of the genius of a Cuvier, as an anatomist, with that of a Benjamin West as a portrait painter. There were found in the quarries of Montmartre a few bones of some great animal of a by-gone age, and of whose species there was not even an existing skeleton. From these "*dissecta membra*" Cuvier constructed the entire figure, and assigned it to its appropriate rank in the order of animal creation. In his *Life of Cæsar*, Napoleon has not only constructed a skeleton of his colossal prototype from the dry bones of history, but he has clothed it with flesh, and breathed into it the breath of life, and then, like the artist who waits for the happy moment, he has caught the most favorable expression of countenance, and transferred it to canvas, with a hue on the cheek, and a flush in the eye.

The American Republic has not been very long in possession of the second volume of this work, which the readers of the first will remember commences with Cæsar's military career. Before entering upon a discussion of its merits, let us speak a word of the mere mechanism of the book. The part of the publisher has been well performed. The binding is neat, durable, and attractive, and looks quite imperial with the coat of arms of the Napoleon dynasty impressed upon it. The typography is large and distinct, and does not enter into conspiracy against our eye-sight. The volumes are divided into books, chapters, and paragraphs, and there are side-notes to each of these latter divisions, descriptive of their subject matter. This is well enough, but in addition to these arrangements, there ought to be figures at the tops of the pages indicating the books and chapters. This remark may appear hypercritical, but it will be appreciated by those who use their libraries for practical purposes, and have to make frequent references. A book is a cabinet of knowledge, and it is just as necessary to the scholar that there should be sign-posts by which the Indices can direct him to any particular facts he may seek, as it is to the druggist to have his vials well labelled and shelved; as it is to the surgeon to have his instruments in their appropriate cases, and the cases in their appropriate places. Book-making is a science as well as book-writing, although an inferior one, and a well planned book is as much a labor-saving machine as a patent churn, or wheat reaper. What is worth doing at all is not only worth doing well, but in the best possible manner. The Napoleonic eye that scrutinizes at a glance the organization of an army, that marks the slightest inaccuracy in the movement of a corps, and the slightest defect in the spoke of a cannon wheel, ought not to have permitted even this petty defect in the organization of his favorite volume.

The first Napoleon used to say that it was by "the five minutes" he saved that he won his battles, and it is certain that nobody, in the short span of human existence, has five minutes that he can af-

ford to throw away. There is one other thing about this book to be objected to—its high price. A work of this character, published for readers all over the country, and selling readily, ought not to cost three dollars and a half per volume. But for this we have to thank the patriots of Congress, who consider that the high tariff charged on imported literature is only a merited gratuity from the whole American people to the printers of New England. But probably this is treason. We desist. In a previous paper, while alluding to this *Life of Cæsar* as a political work in the guise of history, we ventured the prediction that the Emperor would soon be assailed by writers who, adopting his own tactics, would conceal their daggers under the folds of some classic toga. As is generally the case in prophecies (but really unawares to us), it had been fulfilled before it was made, and thereby hangs a tale. It seems that M. Rogeard, an ex-Professor, who had resigned his office in preference to taking the oath of allegiance to the Emperor, concluded that he would fight the devil with fire. So he wrote a pamphlet called "*Propos de Labienus*," apparently as innocent a little essay as ever came from a scholar's closet. The scene is laid in Rome, and in the 31st year of the reign of Augustus. Labienus is a staunch old Republican who hates Royalty. He meets with Julius Gallanus, a Roman youth, in an evening stroll, and they have a talk together, in which he soundly berates Cæsar, and all that is Cæsarean, and sheds tears over old times—over the good old days of the Republic, "when none were for a party, when all were for the State."

"Ah! Gallanus, we are degenerate. We are Romans of the decline, fallen from Cæsar to Augustus; thrown from Charybdis against Scylla; from strength to trickery; from the uncle to the nephew," et cætera, for about twenty pages, very melancholy, very witty, very caustic, and very interesting withal to those who would like to see the Emperor's serenity ruffled. Well, the bookseller did not see the dagger's point, or the cloven foot, protruding from under the classic garment. The pamphlet was printed. Twelve hundred copies were carried off in a few hours. This excited his suspicion. Five thousand more were called for. This said plainly, "*latet anguis in herba*." He rushed trembling to the Prefecture of the Police to declare his innocence. The police were already looking for him. His ignorance of the nature of the publication saved him from punishment; but M. Rogeard, appreciating the fact that "it is not advisable to argue with one who has thirty legions," quickly disguised himself in the garb of a priest, and while the "*gens d'armes*" were striking their bayonets through his bed at home, he was whirling away on the express train to Brussels, where, at last accounts, he remains in exile. The pamphlet was suppressed; but this was a miserable "*faire pas*" of Napoleon—utterly un-Napoleonic. His seeking to punish the author made him a martyr. His warfare against the offending print placed it in the centre table of every parlor in Paris. Had he noticed neither, no one else would have noticed them, save while attracted by their novelty. It is lamentable to witness such

weakness in one who can so well afford to be strong; but let it be said, in palliation of the act, that M. Rogeard not only attacked the politics and policy of his administration, but uttered the most indecent scandals against his private character, and made imputations against the honor of the Empress, well calculated to exasperate the most forbearing.

It requires no profound investigation to disclose the fact that every source of information, literary and scientific, was explored in the collection of material for the production of this volume. It is probable that there has never been published a book for which there was as full and as elaborate preparation. The most skillful philosophers made astronomical observations to ascertain and verify dates; the most accomplished engineers made surveys and excavations to give the locations of camps and battle-fields, and to discover the tracks of military manœuvres; the most learned archaeologists accompanied them to derive what light they could from the relics found in their explorations; the best draftsmen prepared the maps, and we have no doubt that the best scholars traversed the whole field of letters, in order that no fact or opinion bearing on the subject might escape the attention of the Imperial historian. This immense mass has been fused together, and moulded into shape by a master hand. From this "*rudis indigestaque moles*" has come forth a symmetrical and orderly creation.

Cæsar's own memoirs of his campaigns in Gaul, and his expeditions to Britain, form the groundwork of the second volume. These commentaries were not intended as more than notes by which the future historian should be guided in writing a more elaborate work. Napoleon says, "We have adopted the narrative of Cæsar, though sometimes changing the order of the matter; we have abridged passages where there was a prodigality of details, and developed these which required elucidation." Of the value of Cæsar's memoirs it is scarcely necessary to speak. From the school-boy seeking to acquire the rudiments of the noble language in which they are embodied, to the historian seeking a model for his most ambitious efforts—the world acknowledges their pre-eminent merit. The best critics of all countries, and of all subsequent times, have differed only in the language of expressing praise—never as to awarding the fullest measure.

"Cæsar," said Cicero, "has written memoirs worthy of great praise. Deprived of all oratorical art, his style, like a handsome body stripped of clothing, presents itself naked, upright, and graceful. In his desire to furnish materials to future historians, he has, perhaps, done a thing agreeable to little minds, who will be tempted to load these natural graces with frivolous ornaments; but he has forever deprived men of sense of the desire of writing, for nothing is more agreeable in history than a correct and luminous brevity." Hirtius says of them, "These memoirs enjoy an approval so general, that Cæsar has much more taken from others, than given to them, the power of writing the history of the events which they re-

count. We have still more reasons than all others for admiring it, for others know only how correct and accurate this book is; we know the facility and rapidity with which it is comprised.*

We think that Schlegel, in his *History of Literature*, has given the most comprehensive summing up of the merits of Cæsar as an author that we have seen, and it is worthy of quotation in an article even as brief as this. Says he:

"We have the first specimen of a perfect equality of expression in Cæsar. In his writings he displays the same character which distinguished him in action; all is directed to one end, and everything is better adapted to the attainment of that end than anything that could have been submitted in its room. He possesses in perfection two qualities which, next to liveliness, are the most necessary in historical compositions—clearness and simplicity. And yet how widely different are the distinctness and brevity of Cæsar from that open-hearted guilelessness, and almost Homer-like loquacity and clearness which we admire in Herodotus. As a general arranges his troops where they can act the most efficiently, and the most securely, and is careful to make use of every advantage against his enemy, even so does Cæsar arrange every word and expression, with a view to its ultimate effect—and even so steadily does he pursue his object without being ever tempted to turn to the right hand or to the left. Among these ancient generals who, like him, have described their own achievements, Xenophon, with all the perfection of his Attic taste, occupies as a commander too insignificant a place to be for a moment put in comparison with Cæsar. Several of Alexander's generals, and Hannibal himself, wrote accounts of the remarkable campaigns in which they had been engaged, but unfortunately their compositions have entirely perished. The Roman, even as a writer, when we compare him with those who, in similar situations, have made similar attempts, is still Cæsar—the unrivalled, and the unconquered."†

The great quality of Cæsar—a quality which is conspicuous in every act of his life, was that which has been portrayed so graphically by Schlegel as characteristic of his writings—the concentration of every energy upon the accomplishment of one fixed object. All writers on military affairs tell us, and the experience of every intelligent soldier will sustain their teaching, that the gist of the science of war consists in the rapid concentration of forces upon a single given point. The ability to do that is military genius. But let us bear in mind that this underlying principle of military science is not peculiar to that science alone. It is simply the essence of universal wisdom applied to the matter of war. To bring all the energies and resources that can be summoned up to bear upon a single well conceived object should be the abiding thought of life. Any man who has the will to force his ideas into one channel will soon find the current grown so swift and strong that no obstacle can resist it; and when that volume is guided and propelled by genius, one might as well build a dam, or hoist an umbrella, to stay the deluge, as to stand against it. One Poet tells us, "Life is war—eternal war with woe." Another says, "Man is born on a battlefield." The common expression for human existence is, "The battle of life." These are not figures of speech. Every object to be attained is a fortress

* These comments are quoted in Vol. II. p. 13.

† Schlegel's *History of Lit.* p. 83.

to be approached with gap and mine, or a battery to be stormed at the bayonet's point, or a line to be broken. Sometimes we need the calculating genius of a Vauban, sometimes the headlong dash of a Ney, sometimes the stubborn pluck of a McDonald; but the same general principles that our engineers and tacticians lay down for conducting sieges, and manœuvring battalions, apply as well to the battles that are to be fought with pen, tongue, spade, scalpel, trowel, yardstick, paint brush, chisel, or what not, as to those which are to be fought with bullet and blade. There is an old Latin proverb that tells us, "Cave ab homine unius libri" (Beware of the man of one book). Alexander, resting at night with Homer in a golden casket under his pillow, and enacting in the daytime deeds that vied with those of the poet's heroes; Demosthenes, copying Thucydides eight times, and then thrilling the Greeks with the majestic melody of their matchless tongue—these are familiar illustrations; but let us extend the warning. "Beware of the man of one idea." The oracle says, "Enlarge not thy destiny; endeavor not to do more than is given thee in charge." Says Emerson, "There are twenty ways of going to a point, and one is the shortest; but set out on one at once." Poets and philosophers have exhausted the powers of essay and verse in condemning the idlers and drones who lounge through life with "no whither" to their journey; but these "do-nothings" are not half as dangerous as the "do-everythings." The former, sluggish and inactive generally, possess not even enough fascination to give influence to bad example, and soon pass away from obscurity to oblivion. But the latter, always impatient for "some new thing," indulge in daring and brilliant experiments, and attract thousands to share with them a splendid ruin. The pathways of fame are filled with the bones of such men—men who, with the genius to do any one thing, fritter away existence attempting all things, and accomplishing nothing. Alfred Vargrave, described by Owen Meredith in *Lucile*, is a fair type:—

"Alfred Vargrave was one of these men who achieve
So little, because of the much they conceive.
A redundantly sensuous nature, each pore,
Ever patent to beauty, had yet left him sore,
With a sense of impossible power.

He knocked at each one
Of the doorways of life and abided in none.
His course by each star that would cross it was set,
And whatever he did he was sure to regret.
That target discussed by the travellers of old,
Which to one appeared argent, to one appeared gold,
To him, ever lingering on Doubt's dizzy margin,
Appeared in one moment both golden and argent.
The man who seeks one thing in life, and but one,
May hope to achieve it before life is done;
But he who seeks all things, wherever he goes,
Only reaps from the hopes which around him he sows,
A harvest of barren regrets."

Napoleons and Cæsars are made of no such stuff. They have, indeed,

the poet's keen susceptibilities—the fertility of conception that brings forth a thousand brilliant dreams; but these various talents are bound together with the bands of an iron will. They do not “knock at each one of the doorways of life,” but fire their eyes upon the glittering door of the highest temple, and if it does not open to their gentle “open sesame,” they batter it down “*vi et armis*.” Their course is not set “by each star that would cross it,” but by one fixed star, and that is their “Star of Destiny.”

Throughout his work we never lose sight of the one purpose that actuated Napoleon in its composition. No opportunity passes unimproved to show a coincidence in the actions of Julius Cæsar and Napoleon I., or to impress the idea that they were great “people's men.” We remember in the Arabian Nights that whatever else Aladdin invoked with his wonderful lamp, he was sure to include a supply of golden and silver treasure. Whatever other lesson Napoleon seeks to inculcate, he always includes the doctrine that France owes the establishment of her glory to his uncle, and that he himself alone can preserve it.

Thus he says in his reflections on the state of parties in Rome, when the factions of Cæsar and Pompey were becoming embittered towards each other, and their hostility was approaching a crisis:

“The fact is, that in civil commotions each class of society divines, as by instinct, the cause which responds to its aspirations, and feels itself attracted to it by a secret affinity. Men born in the superior classes, or brought to their level by honors and riches, are always drawn towards the aristocracy; whilst men kept by fortune in the inferior ranks remain the firm supports of the popular cause. Thus at the return from the isle of Elba, most of the Generals of the Emperor Napoleon, loaded with wealth like the Lieutenants of Cæsar, marched openly against him; but in the army all up to the rank of Colonel said, after the example of the Roman centurion, pointing to their weapons, “This will place him on the throne again!”

Again he is discussing the question of right between Cæsar and the Senate—Cæsar insisting that his command should continue until the year 706, the Senate declaring that it should cease in 704. After advocating the justice and legality of Cæsar's claims, he takes occasion, in a note, to vindicate his own. “At all times the Assemblies have been striving to shorten the duration of the powers given by the people to a man whose sympathies were not with them. Here is an example: The Constitution of 1848 decided that the President of the French Republic should be named for four years. The Prince Louis Napoleon was elected on the 10th of December, 1848, and proclaimed on the 20th of the same month. His powers ought to have ended on the 20th of December, 1852. Now the constituent Assembly, which foresaw the election of Prince Louis Napoleon, fixed the termination of the Presidency to the second Sunday of the month of May, 1852, thus robbing him of seven months.”

Thus history repeats itself. The Roman Senate, in its passionate warfare against a great, popular man, endeavored to deprive him of two years of office. It only resulted in making him an Emperor, with an indefinite tenure of office. The French Assembly with si-

milar folly sought to rob the President of seven months, and that man is now their master, dictating to them from a throne, and himself picturing their rashness for their contemplation. Are we approaching this act in the drama of American politics? The United States Congress, clinging to the ideas of the past, and seeking to perpetuate in peace the institutions and practices which were barely tolerable in war, has set its hand against the President, who, with faith in the people, seeks to place again in their hands the liberties that were wrung from them at the bayonet's point; and so bitter is their enmity that several members have gone so far as to propose the abolition of the office he holds, in order to concentrate power into their own hands. If they persist what will be the issue? The past points to the Cæsars and the Napoleons, the future points to—who?

We have no doubt that these frequent allusions of Napoleon to his own dynasty will be severely animadverted on by many critics; but we regard them as manly and liberal arguments in defence of the family of which he is the reigning representative. He stands behind the bulwarks of history. His weapons are facts and ideas. Let those who differ with him answer his arguments if they can, and not accuse him of egotism in advancing them. An obscure, penniless exile, who has made himself the greatest of living monarchs, has a right to a high opinion of himself. If it is undeserved, let those who think so show why.

He has not been guilty of the poor device of denying or attempting to conceal the faults or crimes with which Cæsar is charged, but candidly confesses them, and regrets them as disfiguring a character otherwise as stainless as it was great. Cæsar was no vulgar tyrant like Attila, or Alaric. The sight and sound of pain were never to him otherwise than painful. He well merited the tribute of Napoleon I., who said of him at St. Helena, "He is one of the most amiable characters in history." But at times he was guilty of acts which, measured by our views of humanity and international law, are inexcusable cruelties; which, measured by any standard, are dark blots on his escutcheon. After the battle with the Veneti, in which he had annihilated their army, he caused their whole Senate to be put to death, and the rest of the inhabitants to be sold into slavery. It was true that he was exasperated by the fact that the Veneti had violated their oaths of allegiance, and had murdered the messengers sent to negotiate with them; but their overthrow was of itself sufficient punishment, and the warmest advocate of the "*lex talionis*," could not justify this excessive retribution. Napoleon very properly remarks, "Cæsar has been justly reproached for this cruel chastisement; yet this great man gave such frequent proofs of his clemency towards the vanquished that he must have yielded to very powerful political motives to order an execution so contrary to his habits and temper." We find Cæsar, too, very disingenuous in sometimes endeavoring to varnish over his defeats, by calling them (as has been the fashion in later times) "*reconnoissances in force*." Napoleon does not try to hide his lack of candor. He remarks

about his notes on the siege of Gergovia. "In the foregoing account Cæsar skillfully disguises a defeat. It is evident that he hoped to take Gergovia by a sudden assault, before the Gauls, drawn by a false attack to the west of the town, had time to come back to its defence. This could not have been the case, for what use could it be to him to take camps almost without troops in them, if the consequence was not to be the surrender of the town itself?"

Such is the impartial spirit which characterizes this book. The account of Cæsar's campaigns is so minute, and every omission in the text of the Commentaries has been so completely supplied, that as a military history it is the most consummate that has ever been written. We find Cæsar entering military life as a commander at the age of forty years, and at once directing the details of marches, and the dispositions of lines in the field, with as much ease as if war had been the daily occupation of his life-time.

He had held at this period various public offices, but his preparation for the exalted position of a General consisted in his experience as a practical public man, often placed in situations that required self-possession, decision, and address, rather than any special acquaintance with military affairs. His services as a soldier had been limited to one campaign in the Mithridatic War, in which he had won a civic crown for saving the life of a fellow-soldier, but had had no opportunity of displaying, and had given no earnest of, those rare powers for managing the delicate and complicated machinery of war, which shine so brilliantly in his subsequent career. But his varied accomplishments, and the ready tact with which he employed them under all circumstances, were tremendous agencies in military as in civil life. He had led a luxurious, and occasionally an indolent life, but when he studied it was with his whole soul intent on his subject, and he possessed a mind that was not only "marble to receive," but also "marble to retain." He had studied oratory and rhetoric under Appolonius, who was also the tutor of Cicero, and with such success that, as Plutarch says, "he was the second orator in Rome, and might have been the first had he not rather chosen the pre-eminence in arms." Cicero termed him "Splendidus." His style as a speaker was less ornate than that of Cicero, but equally fervid and forcible. Terse, nervous, and laconic, his speeches, as well as his writings and his battles, wear the lineaments of his martial character. Besides these natural and acquired advantages, he was extremely popular with the people and the army, and was sure that the soldiers would heartily second him in the field, and a strong party sustain him at Rome. What were his emotions and aspirations as he departed from Rome to commence the perilous and untried life of a military adventurer, are indicated by these incidents for which we are indebted to our famous old story teller Plutarch. When he came to a little town in passing the Alps, one of his retinue remarked, "Can there be here any disputes for offices, and contentions for precedency, or such envy and ambition as we see among the great?" To which Cæsar very gravely answered, "I as-

sure you I had rather be the first man in this little village than the second man in Rome." Milton when in his *Paradise Lost* he makes Satan say that he had rather rule in hell than serve in heaven, makes him utter a fine speech, in which the irreverence of the allusion is lost in the grandeur of the sentiment. The character of the rebel is drowned in that of the hero. Let us give the Devil and Cæsar their due; they were right, and Milton is at fault in making Satan a hero. In like manner we are told that Cæsar when spending some leisure hours in Spain, in reading the history of Alexander, was so affected by it that he sat pensive a long time, and at last burst into tears. To his friends, wondering what might be the reason, he said, "Do you think I have not sufficient cause for concern when Alexander at my age reigned over so many conquered countries, and I have not one glorious achievement to boast of?" He wept for glory, but they were not idle tears.

If we follow Cæsar now through his marches and combats, it is only to take part in daring enterprises followed invariably by splendid victories, and if we are willing to abide by that inexorable motto of soldiership, "*exitus acta probat*," we must rest at our journey's end with the conclusion that Cæsar was the greatest Captain that the world has ever produced. Unlike Napoleon, he did not enter upon the profession of arms until well advanced in life, but, unlike him also, his whole career is a series of successes. Not that he did not suffer temporary defeats and reverses, but no great design which he ever set about to accomplish with his legions was ever abandoned, and his reverses, so far from discouraging or deterring him, seemed only inspirations to loftier designs, and mightier efforts. Napoleon I., commenting on the requisites of a great commander, used this language: "We rarely," said he, "find combined together, all the qualities requisite to constitute a great General. The object most desirable is that a man's judgment should be in equilibrium with his physical character, or courage. This is what we may well call being squared both by base and perpendicular. If courage be in the ascendancy, a General will rashly undertake that which he cannot execute; on the contrary, if his character or courage be inferior to his judgment, he will not venture to carry any measure into effect. The sole merit of the Viceroy Eugene consisted in this equilibrium. This, however, was insufficient to render him a very distinguished man." Lord Bacon in his essay on Boldness says in substance the same thing: "Boldness is ever blind; for it seeth not dangers and inconveniences; therefore it is ill in counsel, good in execution; so that the right use of bold persons is that they never command in chief, but be seconds, and under the direction of others; for in counsel it is good to see dangers, and in execution not to see them unless they be very great."

This rare combination of qualities existed in Cæsar in the highest degree. Cool self-possession was never lost in the heat of action, nor could any exigency produce vacillation in his designs. He was not more brilliant in imagination, or firmer in resolution, or daring

in courage, than Napoleon; but his will and his intellect were better balanced. Cæsar had the advantage of Napoleon in physique. He possessed that first of requisites to the General, "*sana mens in sano corpore*," and suffered less from the exposure of military life. Less sensitive, less restive, less delicate than Napoleon, he was not so much harassed by the slanders of the world, and less worn by the fatigues of bodily and mental labor.

Like all great men who have been the leaders in building up monarchical upon the ruins of republican institutions, Cæsar is condemned by half the world as being the author of the ruin out of which his own empire was founded. Cæsar, Cromwell, Napoleon I., and Napoleon III., are looked upon by those who have no idea of liberty but that it is a vague something incompatible with the existence of a king, as heartless conquerors, "guilty of their country's blood." But the identity of the circumstances which gave rise to these men in their respective times, ought to convince them that they were not the mere creatures of their own ambition, but of those circumstances which made themselves necessities, and their aspirations virtues. The present, and the last several generations of the American people have resided in a country which, throwing off the yoke of foreign dominion at an early period of its civilization, founded a system of republican institutions in which every feature, every emblem, every name even that called to mind a king or a kingdom, was rejected. Consequently all our writers and speakers have waged an industrious warfare against Cæsar and his comrades, using their names and their acts "to point a moral or adorn a tale," without pausing to reflect whether or not they departed from the justice of history. We should not permit these casual impressions to harden into convictions, without at least considering the sources whence they were derived, and reflecting what circumstances may have warped the mind of the writer or speaker in conveying them to us. "In every human character and transaction," says one of the finest of the British essayists, "there is a mixture of good and evil; a little exaggeration, a little suppression, a judicious use of epithets, a watchful, and searching scepticism with respect to the evidence on one side, a convenient credulity with respect to every report or tradition on the other, may easily make a saint of Laud, or a tyrant of Henry IV." The justice of the remark is plain, and mere convenience is generally the only consideration that moves these thoughtless triflers with history to take one extreme or the other. The orator, the poet, and the statesman care very little how much they may have butchered facts, provided they succeed in happily turning a rhyme, or a period, or in securing the vote of a constituent. We have recently seen a disruption of our republican social system, and society is rapidly assuming a similar condition to that which preceded the rise of these dictators, and the eye that glances through the dust and smoke of the present contest can already see the faint outlines of the coming Cæsar; and Cæsar will surely come if some strong hand does not breast the turbid tide that

is bringing him on. Julius Cæsar will even be a popular and fashionable character in America. The advocates who have been prosecuting him since 1776, will become his attorneys. "*Tempora mutantur,*" and the men who have been embalmed in history for thousands of years might say as truthfully as we, "*et nos mutamur in illis.*" The veering winds have shifted, and the authors will shift their sails. As a change in agriculture changes the properties and color of the soil, so a change in the institutions of a country, and in the disposition of the public mind, will change its views not only of local affairs, but of all the affairs that come under its consideration. Speaking of this class of men who have changed republican into monarchical institutions, and of the splendid place they occupy in history, Macaulay says: "In this class three men stand pre-eminent, Cæsar, Cromwell, and Bonaparte. The highest place in this triumvirate belongs undoubtedly to Cæsar. He united the talents of Bonaparte to those of Cromwell, and he possessed what neither Cromwell nor Bonaparte possessed—learning, taste, wit, eloquence, the sentiments and manners of an accomplished gentleman."⁴ We are especially partial to Macaulay, but we think this passage has more of John Bull's dislike to France in it, than it has of Macaulay's discrimination as a critic. His character as an essayist is lost in his nationality as an Englishman. The character of the revolution which Cromwell headed may entitle him to be mentioned in connection with Cæsar and Napoleon, but his individual qualities do not. "Old Noll" was a brave, blunt soldier, who knew that war meant "fight," and who fought well. He was a good debater, a skillful negotiator, and in whatever he undertook, thoroughly in earnest; but to place him by the side of these grand men is destroying, in effect, his superiority over other men, by his evident inferiority to them. He appears grotesque, awkward, and dwarfish, and the sooner his admirers get him out of that society the better. As to Bonaparte possessing "neither learning, wit, taste, eloquence, nor the sentiments and manners of an accomplished gentleman," we submit that this assertion is scarcely worthy even of one whose reading about Napoleon I. has been confined to Walter Scott's romance that bears his name, and who has accepted every word of it as gospel. How much more just and generous is the criticism of Sir Archibald Alison, whose clear English intellect has not been beggled by his English prejudice: "It would require the observation of a Thucydides directing the pencil of a Tacitus, to portray by a few touches such a character; and modern idiom, even in their hands, would probably have proved inadequate to the task. Equal to Alexander in military achievement, superior to Justinian in legal information, sometimes second only to Bacon in political sagacity, he possessed at the same time the inexhaustible resources of Hannibal and the administrative powers of Cæsar." Napoleon, it is true, was not systematically educated. He had not gone regularly over the classic curriculum. He had become a lieutenant in the regiment

⁴ Essay on Constitutional History, page 87.

La Fere at seventeen, and was occupied in the active camp or field duties of his profession at too early a period of life to admit of his laying as broad a foundation of learning as a scholar of his ambition and genius would otherwise have done. But although not a regular, he had been an enthusiastic student of natural science, history, and literature, and books were the companions of his leisure moments, whether in a brilliant metropolis or amid the rough scenes of the campaign. Scott, as well as Macaulay, criticises his taste, and sneers at what he terms the hyperbolical and bombastic expressions of his military addresses. But we ought to bear in mind that Napoleon was not addressing cold, unimaginative Britishers, but hot-headed, impulsive Frenchmen and Italians, upon whose ears his grandiloquence fell like the sound of a trumpet. To say that Napoleon was not as accomplished a scholar as Cæsar is quite correct. It is no disparagement of him when we remember that the twenty years of early manhood spent by Cæsar in acquisition, were spent by Napoleon amidst scenes of strife; but he was still well versed, particularly in those branches of knowledge that had special relation to his profession, and while he may bear comparison with Cæsar, Cromwell can have no claim to comparison with him. But for the war that threw Cromwell forward, and afforded the most adventurous aids to his success, he would never have been heard of, but the Buckinghamshire Esquire would have passed through the "low sequestered vale of life," and gone to rest in the country churchyard, where "the rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep," without more than a line carved on his tomb to tell the world his history. But Napoleon and Cæsar would have made a brilliant and enduring impression upon any age, or country. There were "all sorts of men," heroic in whatever situation. Circumstances were their creatures. Either of them could have been the first philosopher, historian, or orator of his day, and you could not bury them in any spot so obscure that some ray of light would not break out from their minds which were fountains of light, and go forth to illumine the world. No man could stand in their presence without feeling the influence of a master spirit, while this consciousness of strength was softened by that grace and gentleness of manner which captivates woman, and engages at once the affection of children.

If we contrast Cæsar and Napoleon with some of the other great commanders who occupied the first rank as chieftains, we see even in the smallest affairs the evidences of the superior elevation of all their thoughts and feelings. Take Frederick the Great, for instance, under whose hands arose the military power of Prussia, that has gathered strength from the impulse he gave it, has steadily increased, and that but yesterday struck like a thunderbolt at Sudowa. Frederick the Great has been accredited by some writers as introducing the system of war which, developed by Napoleon, has since been recognized by all military men as containing the true principles of the art. But Frederick the Great was not the discoverer, or originator of those principles though it is true that in his time they

were first generally acknowledged, and in studying the campaigns of Cæsar made at a time when there were no diagrams by Jomini, and no West Points, we find them in accord with the principles which the Great Captains of modern times have adopted. But Frederick the Great, although he fought great battles, and won great victories, can never excite the enthusiasm beyond the borders of his own kingdom which Cæsar and Napoleon will continue to excite throughout the civilized world, and throughout time. Mr. Carlyle has labored through many volumes to make him a hero, but it is impossible even by the magic of eloquence to put him into respectable shape. The elements of human nature have seldom, if ever, been so incongruously mixed as they were in Frederick William. He was a rare compound, in which were found the ridiculous cruelties of Caligula and Barrère, the ferocious cant of Brownlow, the cynicism of Diogenes, the ambition of Alexander, the haughty, intolerant courage of Cato, and something of the powerful action of Cæsar. There was much in him that the stern, earnest man must admire, but there was much more that must disgust a gentleman, and shock the common instincts of humanity. No man can be properly held up to the applause of his fellow-beings, who was so utterly regardless of, indeed so fiercely aggressive upon, the comfort of those around him.

He had no respect for the convenience of persons, or for the most sacred feelings. Wherever he went he carried a ratan in his hand, and woe to him or her who provoked his Majesty's displeasure. To use this cane upon the shoulders of all who came in his reach, was the delight of his well hours, the consolation of his sick ones. His physician's bulletins sometimes ran, "His Majesty is better, and has thrashed a page to-day." A most encouraging sign truly. For the amusement of himself and court, he kept a poor, wise fool called Gundling, upon whom he played "such fantastic tricks before high heaven as make the angels weep," and which did make poor Gundling weep most heartily. Poor Gundling had a quarrel one day with one Fassman, a farcical quarrel which Frederick chose to punish. He accordingly orders for Gundling, to use Mr. Carlyle's words, "a wine cask duly figured, painted black, with a white cross, which was to stand in his room as a memento mori, and be his coffin. It stood for ten years, Gundling often sitting to write in it, and the poor monster was actually buried in it, the orthodox clergy uttering from a distance a groan." And well might they and all humanity have groaned, but King Frederick William only broke out into a horse laugh. To him the idea of a man living in a wine cask and then being buried in it was exceedingly funny. In the presence and vicinity of this specimen of royalty, his attendants were as obsequious as spaniels, and his children as cowering and timid as slaves, but behind the scenes his servants called him "the fat fellow," and the affectionate sobriquet of his children was "stumpy."

Frederick was a man of great intellect, and great will, but, unlike Cæsar and Napoleon, he had no soul. He was of the earth—earthy.

He looked upon, and managed his men, as if they were mere animated bayonets, and swords with arms and legs to them. Napoleon and Cæsar put souls into theirs. Mark the manner in which these commanders led their troops into action. Cæsar reminds them of the military prowess of their fathers, of the glory of victory, of the ignominy of defeat, and then he tells them "if the army will not go with me, I will take my tenth legion and march alone!" Says Napoleon in the desert as he forms his squares, "Soldiers! from the summit of yonder pyramids, forty centuries look down upon you." The Romans went with Cæsar as one man. The French resisted the Mameluke horsemen as if made of stone. Old Frederick under like circumstances would have threatened them with a flogging, and they would have marched sullenly into battle like slaves scourged to a dungeon. The soldiers of Frederick hated and feared him. The soldiers of Cæsar and Napoleon adored them. Frederick degraded his men into brutes. Napoleon and Cæsar exalted them into heroes. After this general dissertation let us return to our author, and in order that our readers may get an idea of the minuteness of this history we will give them a "specimen brick" just here, from which we hope they may form some notion of the edifice. The students of Cæsar's Commentaries have long differed as to the point of his embarkation in starting upon his expedition to Britain, and of his debarkation on reaching the shore of that island. Napoleon favors Boulogne and Deal respectively. As to Deal he argues at great length, and after detailing one reason why he considers it the point of landing, thus proceeds: "Our reasoning has another basis. Let us first state that at that time the science of astronomy permitted people to know certain epochs of the moon, since more than a hundred years before, during the war against Perseus, a tribune of the army of Paulus Emilius announced on the previous day to his soldiers an eclipse of the moon, in order to counteract their superstitious fears. Let us remark also that Cæsar, who subsequently reformed the calendar, was well informed in the astronomical knowledge of his time, already carried to a very high point of advance by Hipparchus, and that he took especial interest in it, since he discovered by means of water-clocks that the nights were shorter in Britain than in Italy.

"Everything then authorizes us in the belief that Cæsar when he embarked for an unknown country where he might have to make night marches, must have taken precautions for knowing the course of the moon, and furnished himself with calendars. But we have put the question independently of these considerations, by seeking among the days which preceded the full moon of the end of August 699, which was the one in which the shifting of the currents of which Cæsar speaks could have been produced at the hour indicated in the Commentaries. Supposing, then, the fleet of Cæsar at anchor at a distance of half a mile opposite Dover; as it experienced the effect of the shifting of the currents toward half-past three o'clock in the afternoon, the question becomes reduced to that of determin-

ing the day of the end of the month of August when this phenomenon took place at the above hour. We know that in the Channel the sea produces, in rising and falling, two alternate currents,—one directed from the west to the east called flux (flot), or current of rising tide; the other directed from the east to the west, called reflux (jusant), or current of the falling tide. In the sea opposite Dover, at a distance of half a mile from the coast, the flux begins usually to be sensible two hours before high tide at Dover, and the reflux four hours after. So that if we find a day before the full moon of the 31st August, 699, on which it was high tide at Dover either at half-past five in the afternoon or at mid-day, that will be the day of landing; and further we shall know whether the current carried Cæsar towards the east or towards the west. Now we may admit, according to astronomical data, that the tides of the days which preceded the full moon of the 31st of August, 699, were sensibly the same as those of the days which preceded the full moon of the 4th of September, 1857, and as it was the sixth day before the full moon of the 4th of September, 1857, that it was high tide at Dover towards half-past five in the afternoon, we are led to conclude that the same phenomenon was produced also at Dover on the sixth day before the 31st of August, 699; and that it was on the 25th day of August that Cæsar arrived in Britain, his fleet being carried forward by the current of the rising tide.

“This last conclusion, by obliging us to seek the point of landing to the north of Dover, constitutes the strongest theoretical presumption in favor of Deal. Let us now examine if Deal satisfies the requirements of the Latin text.

“The cliffs which border the coasts of England towards the southern part of the county of Kent form, from Folkestone to the Castle of Walmer, a vast quarter of a circle convex towards the sea, abrupt on nearly all points; they present several bays, or creeks as at Folkestone, at Dover, at St. Margaret's, and at Old Stairs, and, diminishing by degrees in elevation, terminate at the Castle of Walmer. From this point, proceeding toward the north, the coast is flat and favorable for landing on an extent of several leagues. The country situated to the west of Walmer and Deal is itself flat, as far as the view can reach, or presents only gentle undulations of ground. We may add that it produces in great quantities wheat of excellent quality, and that the nature of the soil leads us to believe that it was the same at a remote period. These different conditions rendered the shore of Walmer and Deal the best place of landing for the Roman army. Its situation, moreover, agrees fully with the narrative of the Commentaries. In the first expedition the Roman fleet, starting from the cliffs of Dover, and doubling the point of the South foreland, may have made the passage of seven miles in an hour; it would thus have come to anchor opposite the present village of Walmer. The combat which followed was certainly fought on the part of the shore which extends from Walmer Castle to Deal. At present the whole extent of this coast is covered with

buildings, so that it is impossible to say what was its exact form nineteen centuries ago; but from a view of the locality we can understand without difficulty the different circumstances of the combat described in Book IV. of the Commentaries."

Such have been the pains of Cæsar's biographer to ascertain a single fact, and his researches after all, end in speculation—the fact is still "in nubibus." Such refinement as this is so destructive of the liveliness of the narrative, that it can possess no interest to the general reader; but the argument gives such wide scope to scientific investigation, and requires such nicety and precision of examination and thought, that we are not surprised at the earnestness and carefulness with which the author sustains his side of it; but to load the context with many discussions of this character would be only to render it heavy, wearisome, and disconnected. Where, indeed, there are decided differences of opinion, as in this case, and the various parties are each supported by eminent authorities, it is but just that in coinciding with either the author should state his reasons for so doing; but the result of his researches only is essential to the development of history, and the details would be more appropriately recounted in notes, or in an appendix.

The most interesting portion of the second volume is not the recital of Cæsar's military campaigns. To a student that portion is invaluable, but it is necessarily so encumbered with criticisms, and elucidations of a purely military character, that the attention of any but a professional soldier must flag in perusing it. Napoleon is most engaging when, having finished the foundation, he raises upon it the superstructure of his own ideas. It is then that he sums up facts, and extracts from them their essence, traces the connection of events, apparently irrelevant, and with a few brilliant strokes gives us a picture page.

While Cæsar had been absent from Rome carrying her eagles into remote regions, augmenting her dominions by conquests of territory, and her glory by the terror of his arms, intestine struggles had been raging in the centre of the Republic, and moral force had been decaying as rapidly as her physical force had been increasing. Rome had grown in corpulence, but she had lost in muscle. Rome the city, was then in magnitude the greatest city that ever existed. Four millions of souls were embraced in her suburbs. Her architecture was splendid. Her society was brilliant. She was the metropolis and mistress of the world. But her strength did not lie in her people, for the corruption of wealth, and the feuds of party, had contaminated and divided public sentiment. Her strong arm lay in her soldiers, not her citizens. A small number of experienced and disciplined soldiers, veterans who had been hardened by an active life, free from the luxuries and temptations of the capital, and bound together by that "*esprit de corps*" which is the most powerful of human influences, had become substantially the arbiters of her destinies. They had made the world resound with their exploits from the Rhine to the ocean; and even beyond the ocean they

had left upon the islanders of Great Britain a deep impression of Roman power and glory. Although the scenes of Cæsar's actions had been far distant from Rome, and he had appeared to be wholly engaged with the Belgæ, the Suevi, and the Britons, he was really gaining a stronger hold on the affections of the people than the generals and statesmen who were advancing their projects for office and power within the Capital; for with the news of his victories came their substantial fruits, and, indeed, they were generally announced by the arrival of large quantities of gold and silver, and other rich spoils sent for distribution amongst the *Ediles*, *Prætors*, *Consuls*, and other influential men, a much more popular bulletin than the most eloquent proclamation. It is not surprising, then, that when he crossed the Alps to go into winter-quarters at Lucca, a brilliant crowd of Roman citizens went out from the city to offer their greetings and congratulations. The wealth, the fashion, the glory, and the intellect of Rome vied in doing him homage. In this crowd there were two hundred Senators, Pompey and Crassus of the number, and there were no fewer than a hundred and twenty *Proconsuls* and *Prætors*, whose faces were to be seen at the gates of Cæsar. It was in the year 698, the third of his military command, that Cæsar for the first time made his winter-quarters in Cisalpine Gaul. He had already been thought of at Rome by prominent politicians as the proper man to restore order, but the time was not yet full for any extreme measures. We will not attempt even a sketch of the next several years. From 698 to 705 Cæsar was occupied in his campaigns. At Rome society was becoming more and more profligate. The elections had become mere personal and partisan struggles for office. The laws were at once cloaks under which the party in power concealed their base designs, and daggers with which it struck down its opponents. In 699 we find such an incident as this occurring. Cato was a candidate for the *Prætorship*. On the day of the *Comitia*, the first Century, to which the epithet of *prærogative* was given, voted for him. Pompey fearing, and not doubting, that the other Centuries would cast a similar vote, declared that he heard a clap of thunder, and dismissed the Assembly. A few days after, by bribing voters, the election of another candidate was effected. We are struck with the fact that these political contentions were almost entirely for mere personal purposes. None of the parties had any great principles which they wished to advance, but engaged in cabals and intrigues to perpetuate the power of individuals, or to accomplish some petty enterprises that had no higher aims than the aggrandizement of their favorites. As is generally the case, while virtue and law decayed the people became more and more reckless and extravagant in their amusements; and while tumultuous crowds were fighting at the polls of election, in another part of the city vast assemblies would be witnessing combats between men and beasts, and other spectacles equally as brutal, and many more disgusting. In 701 we find Cicero writing, "The Republic is without force: Pom-

pey alone is powerful." A Dictator was generally talked of. It was in this year that Crassus, who was conducting war against the Parthians, was defeated and slain, and the disaster only served to increase popular discontent, and to cause crimination and recrimination between those who had advocated and those who had opposed the war. We pass on to the question which led to the civil war. It was simply this. In 699 a law was passed for prolonging Cæsar's command in Gaul for five years. He had entered upon his Proconsular functions at the beginning of the year 696, and as the term of office was five years, he claimed that his entire occupancy of the position should extend for ten years, concluding the first of January, 706. The Senate, on the other hand, claimed that his office would be vacated in 704, five years from the time that the law was passed continuing his term.

The year 704 came, but Cæsar did not disarm. He intended to offer for the consulship, for he was threatened with prosecution if he laid down his proconsular command, and as long as he was a proconsul he could not enter the gates of Rome. The consuls who went into office that year were Paulus and Marcellus, both enemies of Cæsar; and Pompey, though only a proconsul, was the leader of their faction, and his influence was all powerful. Cæsar felt that the crisis was drawing near, and in the beginning of the year 705 he hastened into Italy nominally, and it may be partially to advocate the claims of his friend Mark Antony for the priesthood, but mainly, no doubt, to test the public sentiment towards himself. Wherever he went amongst the municipal towns and colonies he met with the most enthusiastic receptions. The people adorned their gates and spread banquet tables in his honor; women and children crowded the public places; the rich rivalled each other in magnificence; the poor rivalled each other in zeal. Cæsar returned to his army with the assurance that at least in that part of the republic the popular heart was with him. He then passed his army in review. It was evident that the soldiers were ready to share his fortunes. Again he returned to Italy, bringing with him this time the 13th legion, numbering 5,000 infantry and 300 cavalry; the rest of his army, amounting to eight legions, he left in Belgium and Burgundy. Cæsar now addressed a letter to the Senate, stating that he was ready to resign his proconsulship and disband his army if Pompey, also a proconsul, would disband his; that it could not be expected of him to deliver himself unarmed to his enemies, while they remained armed, and awaiting an opportunity to injure him. The Senate was thrown in commotion, but listens to a conciliatory proposition. It decrees that "if Cæsar does not disband on the day prescribed, he shall be declared an enemy of the republic." Pompey declares that he is ready to sustain them with his army; that "he has only to stamp his foot and armed men would rise up." Italy is divided into military departments, the Republic put in readiness for war, and a levy of 130,000 men decreed. Cæsar, hearing the news from Rome, sent couriers over the Alps for his army, and addressed the 13th legion

that was with him. He told them that "his proposals for conciliation had been rejected; that what had been refused to him had been granted to Pompey, who, prompted by envious malignity, had broken the ties of old friendship. What pretext was there for declaring the country in danger, and calling the Roman people to arms? Are they in the presence of a popular tumult, or a violence of the tribunes as in the time of the Gracchi, or an invasion of the barbarians as in the time of Marius? Besides, no law had been promulgated, no motion had been submitted for the sanction of the people; all that has been without the sanction of the people is unlawful. Let the soldiers, then, defend the general under whom for nine years they have served the republic with so much success, gained so many battles, subdued the whole of Gaul, overcome the Germans and the Britons; for his enemies are theirs, and his elevation as well as his glory is their work." The legion answered with acclamations; they declared their readiness to follow him. Each centurion offered to support a horseman at his own expense, and each soldier to serve gratuitously. But one of his generals, Labienus, deserted him. The story that follows is dramatic. With this single legion, the 13th, he resolved to march on Rome. He dispatched at once a small detachment to take possession of Ariminum, an important city of Gaul, but himself spent the next day at a public show of Gladiators, and at night entertained company at his headquarters. In the midst of the festivities he went out unnoticed. A carriage and a few attendants awaited him; he stepped in, and before daylight he had reached and taken Ariminum with the handful of soldiers he had sent in ahead. Plutarch tells us, but some historians reject this account, that when he reached the Rubicon, a little brook that separated Cisalpine Gaul from the rest of Italy, he became lost in reflection, and halted on the bank hesitating to cross it.

De Quincey gives some fine touches to this picture, and we will adopt his version of it, though we must say that we think its best colors are those of imagination: "Impressed by the tranquillity and solemnity of the silent dawn (for it was just before day that he reached the Rubicon), whilst the exhaustion of his night wanderings predisposed him to nervous irritation, Cæsar, we may be sure, was profoundly agitated. The whole elements of the scene were almost scenically disposed, the law of antagonism having perhaps never been employed with so much effect, the little brook presenting a direct antithesis to its grand political character, and the innocent dawn, with its pure, untroubled repose, contrasting potently, to a man of any intellectual sensibility, with the long chaos of bloodshed, darkness, and anarchy, which was to take its rise from the apparently trifling acts of this one morning. So prepared, we need not much wonder at what followed. Cæsar was yet lingering on the hither bank, when suddenly, at a point not far distant from himself, an apparition was descried in a sitting posture, and holding in its hand what seemed a flute. This phantom was of unusual size, and of beauty more than human, so far as its lineaments could be traced in the early dawn. What is singular, however, in the story on any

hypothesis which would explain it out of Cæsar's individual condition, is, that others saw it as well as he, both pastoral laborers (who were present probably in the character of guides) and some of the sentinels stationed at the passage of the river. These men fancied even that a strain of music issued from the aerial flute; and some, both of the shepherds and the Roman soldiers, who were bolder than the rest, advanced towards the figure. Amongst this party it happened that there were a few Roman trumpeters. From one of these the phantom, rising as they advanced nearer, suddenly caught a trumpet, and blowing through it a blast of superhuman strength, plunged into the Rubicon, passed the other bank, and disappeared in the dusky twilight of the dawn, upon which Cæsar exclaimed: "It is finished; the die is cast—let us follow whither the guiding portents from heaven and the malice of our enemy alike summon us to go." So saying, he crossed the river with impetuosity, and in a rapture of passionate and vindictive ambition placed himself and his retinue upon the Italian soil."

A part of this story is, of course, about as true as that of Red Riding Hood. The whole of it was no doubt concocted by Cæsar himself, or some of his adherents, in order to impress the minds of his soldiers with the favorable omen it contained. None of it is well substantiated. Old Plutarch, like Herodotus, was incorrigibly fond of a good story, and never liked to press into the truth if thereby he spoiled an anecdote. It is a pleasant episode to read, and with it closes the second volume of our author. We used De Quincey's language rather than his, because we believed the whole to be fiction, and De Quincey had wrought it up in true romantic style.

It is here that our author becomes eloquent. Hitherto he has confined himself to recitals of facts, and deductions of logic. Let him now speak for himself.

"Here the question naturally offers itself: ought not Cæsar, who had so often faced death on the battle-field, have gone to Rome to face it under another form, and to have renounced his command rather than engage in a struggle which must throw the Republic into all the horrors of a civil war? Yes, if by his abnegation he could save Rome from anarchy, corruption, and tyranny. No, if this abnegation would endanger what he had most at heart, the regeneration of the Republic. Cæsar, like men of his temper, cared little for life, and still less for power, for the sake of power: but as chief of the popular party he felt a great cause rise behind him; it urged him forward, and obliged him to conquer in despite of legality, the imprecations of his adversaries, and the uncertain judgment of posterity. Roman society in a state of dissolution asked for a master; oppressed Italy for a representative of its rights; the world bowed under the yoke for a Saviour. Ought he by deserting his mission disappoint so many legitimate hopes, so many noble aspirations? * * * It would have been madness. The question had not the mean proportions of a quarrel between two Generals who contended for power: it was the decisive conflict between two hostile causes, between the privileged classes and the people. It was the continuation of the powerful struggle between Marius and Sylla!

"There are imperious circumstances which condemn public men either to abnegation, or to perseverance. To cling to power when one is no longer able to do good, and when as a representative of the past, one has, as it were, no partisans but among those who live upon abuses, is a deplorable necessity; to abandon it when one is the representative of a new era, and the hope of a better future, is a cowardly act, and a crime."

It is reserved for another volume to recount the subsequent career of Cæsar. We leave him now assuming the leadership of a great revolution. From whatever standpoint we regard his character as so far developed, whatever be the light or shade upon its features, his stature appears colossal, and his countenance noble. That he had committed grave errors in public and in private life, that he was guilty of excesses that bordered upon crime, that he had lived a life that was far from that of enlightened morality, none can deny. We do not claim for him that he had been so unselfish as to ignore his own interests—that is not to be expected, and is not desirable, in human nature; but he had identified his interests with those of his people. When they clashed, he had made his own subordinate. If he did make himself a monarch, it was not until a monarch alone could save Rome, and when he received the sceptre he could truly say, “*detur dignissimo.*”

His ambition was to win true glory, and the love of true glory is only the desire to become a great benefactor, and is a “just homage to the public opinion of all times.” He has been reproached for going extravagantly in debt when yet young, and it is said that when he was once about to depart on a foreign mission his creditors were so clamorous that he would have been overwhelmed but for the interposition of Crassus, who went his security. We do not agree with those critics who regard his revolutionary schemes as desperate expedients to relieve his pecuniary obligations; but that he borrowed money as a means of advancement. Wealth had become the high road to power. It was of such a time that the Roman satirist might well say

“O! Cives! Cives! pecunia primum querenda est;
Virtus post nummos!”

The way to glory could be paved only with gold, and when Cæsar had passed over the road he easily repaid the means he had borrowed to make it.

It is idle to talk of Cæsar deflowering Rome of her liberty, for liberty was already dead. The very fact that he prevailed so successfully against Pompey was proof that the times needed him. For in the midst of such fierce dissensions the great want of society was repose, and might had become right, for might alone could give repose. Had Pompey been the man destined to redeem and regenerate Rome, he would have done it, for it was while he slumbered and slept that Cæsar came upon him like a thief in the night. There are deformities in Cæsar's character as well as in Pompey's; but even the characters of the greatest men are marred by weaknesses. Curiously composed, they present incongruities like the armor of Don Quixote; they are part iron and part pasteboard. But in Julius Cæsar the iron had the ring of the true metal, and there was very little of the pasteboard.

He did not enslave Rome, but when she was already a slave to anarchy he gave her a helping hand.

There are those who deride the political teaching that a people

ought to be educated for freedom till they have the wisdom to use it well. Macaulay says that the doctrine is worthy of the fool in the old story, who resolved not to go into the water until he learned how to swim, and that the only cure for the evil of freedom is more freedom. The argument is a poor one, and the illustration, if possible, poorer. Of course we must go into the water to learn how to swim, but we must go gradually into the depths, and under the guidance of a strong hand. Rome had plunged in recklessly. She was beyond her depth, and sinking cried out, "Save, or I perish." It was Cæsar who said to the waves "Peace, be still." It was Cæsar who stretched out his hand, and snatched the drowning Republic from the very mouth of death.

To those who cry out, tyrant! we say with De Quincey, "Peace, hollow rhetoricians! the rape (if such it were) of Cæsar, her final Romulus completed for Rome; that which, under Romulus, her earliest Cæsar had prosperously begun. Without Cæsar, we affirm a thousand times there would have been no perfect Rome; and but for Rome, there could have been no such man as Cæsar."

Let the liberty shriekers be silent. When Napoleon I. entered Milan during one of his campaigns in Italy, his partisans welcomed him with an ovation. The dissenters observed that the tree of liberty they bore, was well represented by a bare pole, that had neither roots, branches nor fruits. A bare pole at this time was a fair emblem of Rome and freedom. It had no roots in the hearts of the people; it had no branches in good laws; it bore no fruits of tranquillity or prosperity. It was reserved for Cæsar to prepare the soil, and to plant and nourish the germ of a tree which, while it was as fruitful as the palm, was as stately and sturdy as a cedar of Lebanon.

When the third volume of Napoleon's Cæsar shall have appeared we may resume this miscellaneous talk about the Roman and the French heroes. We ought not to stop now without an expression of gratitude for the invention of the peculiar sort of composition to which this article belongs. A magazine article is indeed a most convenient thing. You can write in whatever style you please, say what you please, commend or condemn any body, or anything, that you please, and not be called to task for breaking the rules: for happily in a magazine you are in a free country which has no rules to be broken. And then, too, there are no fixed limits to your composition. Like the magic tent in the Arabian tales, it will expand or diminish to suit occasion. You can shrink it to a page or stretch it over a volume.

ART. V.—THE MODERN LANGUAGES IN OUR COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES.

IN consequence of the natural progress of civilization, the arts and sciences have assumed an importance which has called forth an advance in the cultivation of the languages of those nations whose high state of cultivation and rich literature have rendered their idioms powerful auxiliaries of useful knowledge, the formation of taste, and the discipline of mental faculties. At first confined to the privileged few, the knowledge of these languages was looked upon rather as a fashionable accomplishment; but their practical value becoming more apparent, they began to be studied also for the sake of utility. Since, the luxury of the few has become the want of the many, and their study has become a leading branch of modern education.

Foreign languages should not be studied merely as a means of national intercourse, or on account of the information their writers may afford. Language is not only the organ of thought, the medium of communication between mind and mind, but word is so inseparable from thought, so instantaneously does it suggest the other, that it has been contended that without words, not necessarily written, or even spoken, but conceived, thought would be impossible. Then, useful as a second language may be, it will assume a higher importance if its study is made more subservient to a profound knowledge of the native tongue, to the formation of taste and cultivation of the intellectual powers, besides extending our circle of communication, or multiplying our sources of information.

Among foreign languages studied with these views, some are more appropriate than others, and the results depend on the mode of their acquisition. The mother tongue cannot, in mental training, supply the place of a foreign idiom. It is by comparison with another idiom that the powers of the mind are evolved, and sound notions of grammatical science are formed.

Method is to instruction what machinery is to manufacture. We do not find that human labor is superseded; it is only better directed. Why, then, not apply to mind, as we have done to matter, improved powers, improved combinations, and improved processes?

Let a rational method be adopted, and undoubtedly by keeping in view the real object of literary studies, and rejecting whatever is useless, foreign languages may be learned concurrently with, and subserviently to, scientific and industrial pursuits; but in such a manner as to insure both their complete possession, and the incidental benefits arising from their study.

Classification is the fundamental law of a rational method. The study of languages must, then, be divided into branches which constitute the leading objects proposed by it. That is the art of understanding oral expression, of speaking, reading, and writing. A language, more than any other branch of instruction, may to a certain

extent be acquired without the aid of books. As a child acquires of himself the vernacular tongue, by imitating the living models; so does an adolescent learn foreign languages by imitating his teachers. In either case the frequency of *impression* tends to secure the powers of *expression*, without premeditated design on his part to learn, or on the part of his parents to teach him the language. A young child unconsciously gains the power of understanding it, when spoken. Once in possession of the idea, he instinctively associates it with the phraseology; he repeats the expressions which he has heard; he speaks by imitation.

Impression and expression constitute the double object of language. Correct impressions are received from proper models, and correct expressions are produced by judicious imitators of them. When acquiring the native tongue the child is under the influence which he receives from the mother, the nurse, brothers and sisters. In fact, all those who approach him act as living models. If they speak correctly, the imitator has the benefit of a good pronunciation and accurate expressions. If incorrectly, he adopts unconsciously a defective mode of speaking. So with a foreign language, if the teacher is deficient in his pronunciation, if his accent is not good, if he is an uneducated person, his pupils, of course, will not acquire an elegant pronunciation and a good accent; he will not be endowed with correct and accurate expressions and a refined language.

In modern languages pronunciation is of the greatest importance. As correct enunciation renders our ideas more manifest, and causes us to be listened to with more pleasure, so an incorrect pronunciation soon fatigues the hearers, and exposes sometimes the speaker to ridicule. Approximation is not sufficient in pronouncing a language, for the least deviation from the right sound or articulation, the improper lengthening or shortening of a syllable, the omission or misplacing of an accent, is enough to change the meaning of a word, the sense of the sentence, and to diffuse obscurity over the discourse, when it does not make ludicrous or ridiculous the most serious and important matter.

Do we not see sometimes the force of sensible remarks though understood by an audience, yet to be nullified by the amusement or impatience which an incorrect pronunciation usually excites? It has been erroneously supposed impossible to acquire the true pronunciation of a foreign language. Nature opposes no obstacle to it. Men of all nations have been endowed with the same faculties, physical and intellectual, (we mean the Caucasian race,) which place human attainments within the reach of all. We maintain that even without going abroad, the correct pronunciation of a foreign language is attainable by any person who will follow the process of nature in learning it. Although at an early age the physical senses yield more easily to impressions, this advantage is, in adults, counterbalanced by a greater intensity of attention, which renders the foreign pronunciation equally attainable by them. Educate the ear, and the pronunciation will be acquired without difficulties.

The vocal sounds and articulations, which form the essential elements of pronunciation, and the greater number of which are common to most languages, are easily distinguished and produced by a person whose ear has been impressed with them; but the various intonations of voice, which under the name of accents constitute its other elements, present some difficulty in a foreign language, because in their infinite variety the peculiar and delicate shades of modulation which characterize them in each nation, easily escape the discriminative powers of the auditory organs. This is certainly the most difficult part of a foreign language. This, however, should not discourage those who may be ambitious of arriving at perfection, for this accent is only a secondary accomplishment, the non-possession of which does not affect the knowledge of a language. It would be erroneous to infer from the peculiar accent of a foreigner, that he does not know the language, or that he pronounces incorrectly, for one may have a good pronunciation and a bad accent, as natives have sometimes the proper accent but a very bad pronunciation, according to the part of his country where he was born, and the people among whom he has been brought up. Therefore, when a French teacher, for instance, is selected by parents or schoolmasters, they should ascertain at first that he is a man of sound judgment, education, and experience, so that he should be able to cultivate the understanding of his pupils, as well as their ears; that he should assist them in acquiring a clear and correct style, rather than a genteel accent.

Nothing is so absurd as the attempt of assimilating the sound of a foreign language to those of the native tongue, as it is done in many introductory books. Every language has vowels, vowel sounds, articulations, and an accentuation peculiar to it, and whatever their combinations may be, they will never present the idea of any sounds or articulations but those with which the learner is already acquainted. The attempt, therefore, to spell words in one language as they are pronounced in another, must in most cases prove unsuccessful, for the pen can never represent new sounds to the eye with a defective spelling of the foreign words. Written descriptions or representations of new sounds, can but lead astray those who have not heard them. The ear only can judge of sounds, as the eye alone judges of colors.

Each organ has its peculiar sensations, inappreciable by the other organs. Language cannot perform the office of our senses, and it is inadequate to effect more than a mere reference to our experience. Who will have a correct idea of the English *th*, the French *u* or *un*, the German *ch*, the Italian *gli*, and the Spanish *x*, if he does not hear them from the mouth of a native? He who never tasted truffles, smelt a rose, or saw snow, cannot be made to conceive exactly the sensations they produce, either by the most descriptive language or the most minute combinations of other sensations. Useful, therefore, as are pronouncing dictionaries, to serve as standards whereby to ascertain the exact pronunciation of certain words, they are so,

only as far as they employ the alphabetical combinations which are current in the language whose pronunciation they are intended to represent; but the power of using them implies a practical knowledge of the language; whereas they cannot be of any service to a foreigner ignorant of it. With him nothing can supply the want of living models, and he must have heard the vocal elements for some time, before he can expect to reproduce them with any kind of correctness. Our conviction of the right pronunciation of native words does not arise so much from our recollection of having heard them in any particular way, as from our consciousness of having heard them pronounced by persons reputed good speakers. It is the same with the foreign pronunciation. Let the pupils hear the language often enough to have it in their power to recollect the manner in which it is pronounced by their instructor, their subsequent imitation of it will present no difficulty. It is by frequently hearing the teacher that learners acquire habits which enable them afterwards instinctively to pronounce correctly in his absence.

The difficulty of pronunciation once mastered, reading loud keeps the ear in tune and the tongue in practice, renders the pronunciation habitual, and thus preserves it to the latest period of life.

If foreign languages are so important a branch of education; if teachers play so important a part in the acquirement of foreign languages, how is it that in this country, and especially in the Southern States, families and schools take indiscriminately as teachers of languages, persons whose qualifications and abilities, as such, have not been previously ascertained? Is it possible to admit, for instance, that English, French, German, and Spanish can be taught properly by the same person, and through the Ollendorff system, so generally used on this continent for all languages, and yet so deficient and defective?

There was, some few years ago, in one of the military academies of the Southern States, a young Frenchman who was born and had been brought up in Paris. He had never left his family, where French was constantly spoken, up to the day that he was admitted into said Academy, and naturally he knew more about French than all the Academy, including officers and cadets. The officer teaching French was a native of the State, he had never travelled abroad, could not even keep conversation in French, and his pronunciation was more than defective—we will not speak of his accent; however, the young Parisian was constantly reprimanded, punished, and threatened with dismissal, because he would not consent to alter his native language, and to pronounce it in his teacher's style, nor adopt his distorted patois.

Some time ago it was reported by the Columbia papers, that the Board of Trustees of the South Carolina University had at last taken the decision to have modern languages taught in their University. If so, how will they proceed? Will they appoint a special and competent professor for each language? or will they find a professor endowed with the extraordinary gift of the universal

knowledge of all modern languages, and with the yet more extraordinary abilities to teach them all efficiently? As to the College of the city of Charleston, is it not time that it should be put in the same standing with all other colleges in this country? Have not the students in that College been deprived long enough of the benefits of studying modern languages, especially those destined to learned professions?

ART. VI.—RAILROAD HISTORY AND RESULTS.

ADDRESS OF J. D. B. DEBOW, PRESIDENT OF THE TENNESSEE CENTRAL OR PACIFIC RAILROAD.

The facts and principles which are embodied in the annexed series of letters, though intended for the State of Tennessee, will be found to be applicable wherever railroads are to be constructed. The letters have been prepared with much care, and it is hoped will prove to have general interest and value.

I. TO THE PEOPLE OF TENNESSEE.

Tendered by a complimentary vote the Presidency of the Great Central Railroad of Tennessee, chartered by recent act of the Legislature, I did not feel at liberty to decline, notwithstanding the difficulties of the position, and the ceaseless energies which will be necessary, if this important enterprise is to be carried through. Having established myself in the State and located my pecuniary and other interests here, I have a direct and tangible interest in all that makes for her prosperity and especially the prosperity of her wealthy and beautiful Capital. A citizen of the South, identified with its fortunes for weal or for woe; devoted to its welfare and interest, I have applied myself from early life to the development of our enterprise and wealth, and have lived long enough to witness the most gratifying results and the abundant success of hundreds of undertakings, regarded in their incipiency to be impracticable. In the twenty years which include my connection with these movements, may be condensed the whole history nearly of our internal improvement system—a system which cements and binds together our States; which has built up our cities and developed our interior; added indefinitely to the value of our lands and to our physical, moral and other comforts. The most of these roads have, in addition, paid handsome dividends to their proprietors and stockholders, and all will undoubtedly do so when our affairs again become settled.

Notwithstanding what has been effected an inspection of the map, and a consideration of the character of the country, demonstrate that we are *but in middle, and not at the end of our labors*. Vast and important connections are yet to be made; great sections are to be opened; wealth now inaccessible is to be brought forth; the mountains, the sea-shore and the rivers are to be brought nearer and nearer to each other. Another twenty years of construction will not do more than bring us to the stand-point which the Northern States have reached to-day in their railroad results, and yet these States will press on. Sir Morton Peto, the eminent English railroad projector, stated in his recent visit to this country, that "it was impossible to drop a railroad anywhere in America that would not pay."

It is gratifying, too, to know that the people of the South are awake upon the subject of their material interests, and that they are reviving and pressing with spirit and energy all the great railroad enterprises or conceptions which were interrupted by the war, and that they have risen from the ashes of their misfortunes with renewed spirits and energies, and with the vast improvement which the conflict engendered.

When our political affairs are settled, and that cannot be long delayed with a people so eminently practical as the American, and when all interests so loudly

call for it, the South will enter upon a career of prosperity which nothing in the past has equalled. Her vast resources will invite capital and labor from all the world and will compensate many fold for what has been lost. Manufactures will spring up everywhere, our abundant minerals will be worked, our towns and villages and cities will exhibit life and activity. We need not apprehend any pause in the advance of such a people.

In 1845 I visited for the first time the great West as a delegate to the Convention at Memphis, where nearly all of the Southern and Western States were represented, and well remember the enthusiasm which was begun to be engendered in behalf of internal improvements, and the plaudits which rang through the hall when Mr. Calhoun, the President, declared that in regard to all of the railroad schemes in contemplation, *he considered that which sought to connect the Southern Seaboard with the Mississippi Valley as the most important.* It threw open markets for Western produce at all times and all seasons. The Mississippi might be blockaded and the produce of the Valley would not be left to perish. "In less than twenty years," said he, "the West will be engaged in deliberations to extend its connection with the Pacific as it is now with the Atlantic, and the connection will be as intimate with the one as the other."

In a series of brief papers of which this is the first, delayed until the disappearance of the epidemic from among us, I propose, fellow citizens, to discuss (and trust that you will give me your careful attention, and that the newspapers of the State will republish the series) the whole subject of our railroad system; what effect the railroads exercise upon town and county, how Nashville stands in relation to them, and what will be its future; what is the duty of our property holders and capitalists; what are the proposed advantages of the Central or Pacific Railroad—the country which it will traverse, the practicability of the route, its cost and mode of raising it, and will the enterprise prove remunerative?

When the series is completed, I shall endeavor to meet the people of the country to be traversed by the road, but bespeak in advance the co-operation of its active and leading citizens upon whom the success of the enterprise must in great part depend.

II.—INFLUENCE OF RAILROADS IN BUILDING UP TOWNS AND CITIES.

It can scarcely be necessary to dwell upon a proposition so obvious. The whole experience of America is a demonstration of it. The marvellous growth of our inland towns, often without natural advantages and in spite of physical difficulties; the increase in the number of such towns; the progress in manufactures and the arts to which no other period of history affords a counterpart, are all attributable to the mighty achievements of the railroad. Without it where would have been Cleveland, Chicago, Milwaukee, Buffalo, and a host of similar towns which have reached the altitude of great cities? And even in cases where great natural advantages are enjoyed, as at Cincinnati, St. Louis, Memphis, Boston, New York, how small are the advantages of the rivers and the steamboats in comparison with those which are derived from the iron horse, whose swift foot has penetrated the vast interior, and whose strong back has borne away the colossal burden of its wealth?

The trade and population of cities must always be determined by the ease or difficulty of entrance and egress, and in the competition of cities, those that present the greatest advantages of this kind, it may be assumed, in the long run will win the race. There needs no proof of this. The farmer whose productions, for example, are distant one hundred miles from one city on the railroad, and ten miles from another on the common road or turnpike, will not hesitate long as to his true market, and where he sells there will he buy, and there will be his associations and those of his family. The city, therefore, that foregoes the advantages of the railroad will be as powerless in the race, as would be the individual who relies upon natural endowments, to the exclusion of education and information, and almost in proportion as these advantages are added to and extended, is her pre-eminence recognized!

Every dollar that is judiciously expended upon railroads terminating at a city, is so much trading capital added to her, and is as much a part of her actual wealth as if she appeared in brick or mortar or stone edifices. When you add a mile of road in a new quarter, you are in point of fact building a new store house or mansion, and sometimes many such, on your streets, and adding a score or more of residents to your midst. The dollar may be better expended fifty or a hundred miles distant than several times that much under your eye.

I may safely challenge the skeptic, if there be such, to a single instance of a town or city which has declined in population and wealth and become bankrupt in consequence of expenditures upon railroads.

The very reverse is the rule everywhere, and the examples are so numerous that it would be idle to refer to them in detail.

The prodigious growth of St. Louis, and the notable progress of Memphis, with which we are more familiar, are exponents of the principle that I am arguing. These cities are conversant with the grandest and vastest conceptions, and leap from one great enterprise to another with an energy and intelligence which are truly admirable. The result of it is that all of Missouri is flocking to St. Louis, and all of Tennessee to Memphis.

A few years ago, Mobile, finding her prosperity on the wane, conceived the stupendous design of penetrating to the valley of the Ohio by railroad, and although her wealth and population were scarcely more than half that of Nashville to-day, she boldly undertook a work which was to cost eight or ten millions of dollars, and has actually achieved it, and been long deriving its great results.

Between 1830 and 1840, the gain in valuation of property at Charleston was \$5,160,829, which Col. Gadsden said was clearly traceable to the Hamburg Railroad, which had not expended half that sum. The gain was more extraordinary in Boston, which was \$74,000,000, in the years 1841-45, upon an expenditure of thirty millions in railroads. In the same period New York showed an actual decline, which roused the energies of her capitalists and enabled them in the end to turn the scales. In 1840 the district around Boston had a population of 172,000, and in 1850, 293,000—an increase of 70 per cent. against 45 per cent. in the previous ten years. In the same period the valuation of property rose from \$120,000,000 to \$266,000,000, upon an expenditure of \$52,000,000 for railroads.

But it is not my intention to multiply such obvious examples or refer to the experience of Nashville at the present time. The consideration of her case will come up hereafter. I close now with a remark of Dr. Lardner, which is very significant, that the saving in passage-money made by those who traveled over the railroads in Great Britain in the years 1847 and 1848, alone, over what they would have had to pay to the stage coaches, was £16,922,076 sterling, "or 70 per cent. upon the whole cost of those roads."

III. INFLUENCE OF RAILROADS UPON INTERIOR LANDS AND PROPERTY.

After the argument that has already been advanced, it will scarcely be necessary to make further reference to general principles. The illustrations are innumerable.

Between 1853 and 1859 the four counties of Butler, Jackson, Limestone, and Lowndes, Alabama, increased their land valuation from \$9,798,896 to \$16,616,829, in consequence of the construction of railroads through them, whilst the counties which had no roads—Coosa, Barbour, Chambers and Pickens—increased only from \$8,561,410 to \$9,397,865.

In the years 1856-57, whilst the whole increase of taxables in Tennessee was about forty million dollars, five of its chief railroad counties gave twenty millions of that increase. These counties were Davidson, Williamson, Rutherford, Bedford and Shelby.

Speaking to the people of Greenville, S. C., several years since, the Hon. B. F. Perry said:

"I can well remember, fellow-citizens, when your flour and your corn could command no market. Every man had as much as he wanted, and none could be sent off. Farmers had no inducement to work except a small part of their time. Labor was in no demand. Very often have I seen men wishing to hire themselves to work at twenty-five cents per day. Seldom any one wished to hire. What was the consequence? Idleness, and a coarse, uncomfortable way of living, and dissipation. All this has passed away with the railroad."

The engineer of the Alabama Central Railroad, John T. Milnor, who made, several years since, one of the ablest reports ever published in any country, gives the following striking illustration of the effects of the railroad, upon the habits, manners, enterprise and wealth of the people of the interior. He says:

"In 1837 I was engaged on the Georgia State road, just then commenced. I there became acquainted with the people along that road—their habits and their means. Beyond their actual wants for food they raised nothing at all. The men moped around, and shot at a mark. The women seemed to do but little, whilst their children, poorly cared for, sauntered about from place to place, as if their highest thoughts were bent upon catching rabbits, 'possums, or some such small game. What was the use to work when it would cost them two dollars per bushel to get their wheat to market, and then only get *one*. In 1837 I went back again, and what a change! The rivers were the same; the Kennesaw Mountain had not changed—the "Crooked Spoon" still rolled along—the men and women that once I knew were there—the boys had grown to be men, and the girls to be women, but their *mien* was changed. The old men stood erect, as with conscious pride they looked upon the waving fields of grain. The matrons busied themselves about their dairies and looms, whilst the sturdy boys were grappling with the plough. What has brought this change about? Listen for awhile, and you will hear the iron horse come storming along. He stops at a station for fuel and water—a man gets off the train. He is a Charleston man, or perhaps the agent of the Montgomery Mills. The cars go on, and he goes to the house. He meets the farmer—they have met before. His business is to buy his grain. Strange, but true, that the demand for wheat should be so great as to induce the merchant to buy at the farmer's door. He offers \$1.50 per bushel cash for his crop, and will furnish the sacks to put it in. That won't do. Savannah was here yesterday, and Columbus the day before, and they offered more. Here is the key to this change. This solves the mystery. The great State Road, the iron horse, the dollar and a half per bushel, cash, tells the tale. This is literally the truth, as any one can ascertain by inquiring of the men that know."

In Georgia, lands which were in the market in 1846 at from ten to fifty cents per acre, commanded in 1849, when the Chattanooga Railroad was in operation, from ten to twenty dollars. On the Mobile and Ohio Railroad, lands without a purchaser for thirty years, advanced at once to three dollars, and in many cases eight dollars per acre. The estimate on the pine lands was an increase of from 500 to 5,000 per cent. In Ohio the taxable property was in amount \$136,000,000, when there were only eighty-nine miles of railroad, and \$840,000,000 when three thousand miles of railroad had been constructed. In Illinois the rise was from \$72,000,000 when twenty-two miles existed, to \$402,000,000 with two thousand five hundred and ninety-eight miles. In Indiana an increase of thirty miles to one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two miles, increased the value of property from \$119,000,000 to \$317,000,000. Maryland, by building sixty-five miles, increased the property valuation to \$116,000,000; Georgia, six hundred and nine miles railroad, \$248,000,000 property; one thousand three hundred and seventy miles, \$600,000,000 property.

TENNESSEE.

Year.	Miles R. R.	Valuation Property.
1848.....	18.....	\$129,501,074
1852.....	68.....	186,821,610
1854.....	300.....	219,061,047
1856.....	500.....	260,319,611
1858.....	773.....	377,208,671

Col. Tait, President of the Memphis and Charleston Railroad, said at the banquet of the Nashville and Memphis Chamber of Commerce:

"The minds who conceived, or those who matured, and the hands that executed the designs and purposes of the General Internal Improvement laws of Tennessee will live in the hearts

of Tennesseans. Was the law a wise one, and has it succeeded? Will it redound to the interest of the State? I think a glance at the figures will show that the system has been of the greatest importance to it. In 1836 the taxable wealth of the State was \$117,000,000—the value of our land \$4 per acre. In 1852, sixteen years thereafter, the taxable wealth of the State was \$186,000,000, an increase of less than sixty per cent., while our lands had decreased to \$3.84 per acre. In 1852 the Internal Improvement law was passed. What was the result? In the eight intervening years to 1860 we had built over 1,200 miles of railroad, and land had increased to \$8.8 per acre, and our taxable wealth to \$380,000,000 in a period of eight years, or 110 per cent."

In 1851, Mr. Hewson, a scientific engineer of Memphis, conceived the idea that from actual results and experience, he could discover the precise value imparted to lands at different distances from the railroads. He constructed a curious diagram, which may be found in *DeBow's Review*, Vol. xi, page 590, and says:

"If five dollars an acre be the value of land at the disadvantage of hauling, at a cost of 50 cents per hundred pounds, this value, if we assume the gross haulage at 100 pounds to the acre, a low estimate, will be raised, in consideration of a transport of 10 cents per 100 pounds, to \$9 per acre.

"The cost of haulage by ordinary roads is seven times the cost by railroads. The result of railroads on agriculture is, therefore, in effect, to draw the plantations along the route within one-seventh of their actual distance from market.

"In the case of a railroad's running through an inland district, a plantation, or tract of land situated on the line at a distance of 70 miles from market, receives a benefit equivalent to the cost of hauling its produce and return supplies over sixty miles of common roads, and this additional value is imparted to each acre of the land."

Speaking of the Vicksburg and Brandon Railroad, much of it through a pine country, Mr. Roach, of Vicksburg, said in 1851:

"A farmer on the line of the road has a farm of indifferent sort, lying on a bed of rocks. A building is commenced at Jackson, and the nature of the spot forbids the use of brick for a foundation. Our farmer's barren rocks, 15 miles from the proposed building, are brought into requisition. They are put into his pocket, in the shape of cash. Without the railroad they were only a nuisance. Take any tract of land, however poor, its timber, if along the railroad, will make it more valuable than the best lands which are not accessible, etc."

But of what avail to multiply illustrations? The experience of proprietors along all the great routes of railroad are uniform on the subject. Seldom or never is the advantage less than that of duplication, and in many cases the lands at once appreciate to three, five, and ten times their original valuation. The cause of this is natural enough, and has been fully explained. Well, therefore, may a farmer subscribe—and subscribe liberally—to enterprises which, besides the chances of annual dividends (which we shall see hereafter are always good), will bring such substantial home results. If his estate be worth \$1,000 or \$10,000, he may well give half of it to the Company, in fee simple, and never have cause but to rejoice in the act. The word "gift," however, is a misnomer. It is the railroad that is the great giver, the great benefactor, which creates for him wealth when he sleeps, which is making him rich, when often he has thoughtlessly opposed it.

Experience has universally shown that men who swear against railroads, who absent themselves from the meetings, protest that they will give nothing in their aid, but would rather give so much not to have them, are the very first, when the route is located in the vicinity of their lands, to make a parade about the benefit that the lands have received, and to demand extortionate prices for them, should a purchaser chance to come along.

IV. GENERAL INFLUENCE OF RAILROADS.

1. UPON POPULATION.—It will not be denied that very much of the settlement of a country depends upon the facilities afforded for communication and transport. Even inferior lands will be cultivated, if within reach of the market, whilst the most productive will remain in a state of nature, or with a limited population. The arguments which apply to common roads are strengthened in the case of turnpikes; still more on plankroads and canals, and in the highest degree on railroads, which introduce the potent element of steam. It is com-

mon experience that settlements and large towns spring up on the route of a railroad, where hitherto nothing but farm-houses were to be seen, except at its termini. The traveler at the North is struck with this every hour. The villages and towns become themselves the centres of back population, and this population gives rise to the opening of new lands, and thus the area continually widens. The history of the West is strongly in point. When shut off from the Atlantic by a road of sixty days, or a flat-boat navigation quite as long, the progress of population and products was slow, revolutions were openly discussed, and a separate government adequate to her necessities was proposed. The power of railroads and steam changed the whole aspect of things, and the West, which had but 300,000 at the close of the last century, contained in 1820, 2,207,463; in 1830, 3,672,569; in 1840, 5,302,918, and reaches nearly 15,000,000 at the present time. How much larger had been the population, had facilities like those of New York and Massachusetts been enjoyed, may be readily imagined. It will not do to argue that population must come before railroads. It is possible to stimulate and excite it! If the natural facilities of rivers and navigable streams exercise great influence on the growth of population, as in the history of settlement, none can deny, will not other facilities of a like or even different character have the same effect? Population follows the rivers, and not rivers the population, and so it is of railroads.

2. UPON INDUSTRY.—A people dependent upon mere production, and incapable of exchanging, can only remain in savage barbarism. The first step in progress is barter; for without it production will be confined to the mere abject necessities of life. Trade stimulates new energies and life, and ultimately civilization. Industry is its handmaiden. Manufactures go hand in hand with it; for every article of manufacture, except the very rudest, presupposes exchange, since the skill of the field laborer must be supplied by that of the artisan. Frequency of exchanges, and capacities for them, thus operate upon production and fabrication. The Indian hunter will transport on his back, or in canoes, his peltry, hundreds of miles, to the trader. This is exchange under the greatest conceivable disadvantage. The Mexican trader will supply the interior commerce upon pack-horses over great deserts. This is commerce at one remove; but still, under such discouragements, it cannot thrive, and thus Mexico remains, from age to age, without improvement or progress. The wagon, the flat-boat, the ship, the steamer, and the railroad, are successive steps in advancement. New wants spring up with the facilities for their enjoyment, and new energies are diffused. The poorer classes become consumers of what formerly was confined to the wealthy. The wealthy look around for new marks to distinguish them from the commonality; thus industry is everywhere taxed and encouraged, manufacturing towns spring up, and villages grow into immense cities. The forests give way to the axe, and the highest civilization is ushered in.

3. UPON WEALTH.—I shall confine myself here to a few facts, which go to show the immense results which have grown out of the construction of railroads. They are the creators of wealth in more than one way. As a source of profitable investment, railroads have not been surpassed, all things considered, by any other. The actual earnings on the roads of England were over four per cent. on the value of shares, when the interest on money was much less. If there has been depreciation in the stocks of roads, it is easily accounted for by the monomania which induced the construction of roads that were unnecessary, by heavy Parliamentary expenses, and by the reckless and extravagant system of construction, incident to the infancy of all novel enterprises. The same remark applies to the United States, where the dividends of roads have averaged over five per cent., though in Massachusetts this average reaches eight per cent., whilst upon many roads in the country, ten, and even a much greater per cent. has been realized by economical management. No other investments of capital have paid more; and if we take long series of years, no others have paid so much. Losses, to be sure, have been incurred, but in what department of business has experience been otherwise? Certainly not in com-

merce; certainly not in banking; nor even in agriculture and manufactures. Visionary and impracticable schemes, and ruinous extravagance, will find their place in every branch of human affairs. Nor is it in actual dividends alone that railroad profits are achieved. Far from it. These are among their least advantages. Proprietors, urban and rural, feel their effects, as we have seen, primarily, and to the largest extent. Throughout the Union property has received an actual tangible benefit to a much greater amount than the cost of all the roads in it. New York, to which I have referred before, is a strong illustration. In the fifteen years which immediately succeeded the construction of the Erie Canal, the value of the property in the city advanced 149 per cent., though in the preceding ten years it had not advanced one dollar; the per cent. increase of population being not much greater immediately after than before the construction of the canal. "Wherever railroads have been constructed," says Col. Gadsden, of South Carolina, "property has risen in value, and new stimulus been given to trade and intercourse. These are not speculative views, but realities."

He says again:

"I shall show that trade has expanded, and the value of real estate increased, since the establishment of the railroad. Any one who will make the inquiry, will find the land all along the road to Hamburg and Columbia, for five miles on each side of it, has appreciated in value 50, 500, and in some cases 5,000 per cent. and where before its construction there was not \$50,000 worth of trade, there is now (1845) upwards of \$550,000. The valuation of property on the South Carolina Railroad, compared before and since its construction, shows—1830, \$11,897,613; 1866, \$19,075,157; gain, \$7,688,145."

The next illustration is Virginia; and here I quote from a message of Gov. Floyd, in 1850:

"The wisdom of the policy stands fully vindicated by the recent assessment of lands in the commonwealth, which shows an increase of 294 per cent. upon our entire landed property during the last twelve years, or an aggregate increase in the value of real estate alone, since 1838, of \$62,749,718, while the increase between the assessments of 1819 and 1838 was only \$5,086,550, or two and a half per cent. The total value of lands in the State, in 1819, was \$206,893,978; in 1838, it was \$211,850,508, and in 1850 it was \$274,680,226; which shows an average increase each year, since 1838, while the system of internal improvement has been in operation, equal to the whole increase during the nineteen years prior to that time. This result has been owing chiefly to the impulse imparted to the industry of the State by the facilities which her public works have afforded to our citizens for transporting their produce to market. Portions of our country which, twenty years ago, were scarcely inhabited, are now thickly settled, well cultivated, and prosperous. A tax-paying fund has been thus provided, which will constitute, through all time, a valuable addition to the permanent capital of the commonwealth."

There can be nothing more striking in the history of railroads, than the manner in which they have triumphed over the strongest and most inveterate opposition, and baffled in their results the wildest calculations of their most sanguine advocates. The *London Quarterly Review* made infinite sport of the proposition that an eventful speed of eighteen or twenty miles an hour might be attained. "The gross exaggerations of the power of the locomotive engine may delude for a time, but must end in the mortification of those concerned. We should as soon expect the people of Woolwich to suffer themselves to be fired upon by one of Congreve's ricochet rockets, as trust themselves to the mercy of such a machine, going at such a rate." A member of Parliament declared, in opposition to the Manchester road, "that a railroad could not enter into competition with a canal. Even with the best locomotive engine, the average rate would be three and a half miles per hour, which was slower than the canal conveyance," and Mr. Wood, in his *History of Railroads*, says: "Nothing can do more harm to the adoption of railroads than the promulgation of such nonsense, as that we shall see locomotive engines traveling at the rate of twelve, sixteen, eighteen, and twenty miles per hour."

V.—THE STATE OF TENNESSEE—ITS CONDITION, RESOURCES AND PROSPECTS.

There is no State in the Union which possesses greater natural advantages, and which opens a theatre of greater future enterprise and wealth than the State

of Tennessee. Possessed of a mild and equable climate, of a fertile soil capable of every variety of production, of abundant mineral resources, and having a capacity for manufactures which is truly without limit—nothing seems to be needed but the industry and enterprise of its people to put them in the foremost rank of progress. Dependent less upon slavery than any of her sisters, and with a less percentage of negro population, her losses have been less by emancipation, as they have in general been less in other respects from the casualties of the war. Her recovery may be counted upon rapidly and speedily, and there can be no doubt that the establishment of free labor, from the stimulus which it will give to immigration, will, in no long period, be a positive and great advantage to the State. For this immigration she is eminently fitted, and if wise measures are inaugurated, it will be very practicable, by means of it, to double our present population.

The population of Tennessee in 1860 was 1,109,801, of which 275,719 were slaves—a population within a fraction of being as large as that of any Southern State except Virginia. Her rate of increase in the previous ten years—ten per cent.—was only half the increase of the former decade, and was less than the increase of almost every State in the Union—a fact which is indicative that emigration, instead of immigration, had begun to operate. Her increase in general wealth, however, was very large, and in consequence the condition of her people improved. The real and personal estate increased by the census from \$201,276,686 in 1850 to \$493,903,892 in 1860,—a ratio greater than that of Kentucky, and of more than half the States of the Union. Her manufactures increased from \$9,725,603 to \$17,987,225 in the same time—very nearly a duplication—which was greater than the increase in Missouri or Kentucky, although the aggregate manufactures of these States is more than double that of ours, for which there is no good reason. Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana and Texas, showed a larger ratio of increase than Tennessee.

Although our coal and iron resources are unlimited, we yet produced in 1860 but 165,000 tons of iron, against twice that quantity produced by Kentucky. From this report of the American Iron Association in 1858, we learn that "in the Northern part of East Tennessee and Northwest corner of North Carolina is seen a knot of forty-one blomeries and nine furnaces, while to the west of these, at the base of the Cumberland Mountains, are fourteen forges and five furnaces." "There is but one principal iron region in the Far West—that of Western Tennessee and Western Kentucky." * * * "The whole country possesses an incalculable, inexhaustible abundance of the richest ores." The aggregate coal product of the State in 1860, was valued at half a million dollars, and the iron product at a million and a third of dollars.

Prof. Wilson, who was sent from England to examine our mineral resources in 1855, estimated the coal region of Tennessee at 4,300 square miles, and that of Alabama at 3,400, but considered the former to be more prolific in the ratio of ten to seven. The proportion of Tennessee was one-third as great as Kentucky and half that of Missouri and Indiana. The whole coal formation of the United States he fixed at 133,132 square miles. The London Geological Society, speaking of the coal deposits, says:

"The United States coal deposits have been divided by geologists into four principal fields or tracts. The first in importance, by reason of its enormous extent, is the Alleghanian, or Great Central, reaching from Tuscaloosa, in Alabama, through East Tennessee and Kentucky, thence into West Virginia, Maryland and Pennsylvania, where it apparently terminates, but afterwards reappears in the British Provinces of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia. This basin as far as it has been traced, was known many years ago to embrace an area within the United States of 30,000 square miles, of which 45,000 square miles, or 28,500,000 acres, was one unbroken seam."

Mark H. Coeper, the Iron King of Georgia, said in 1856, there are 800,000 tons of iron made in the United States, which cost the consumers \$60,000,000 per annum; 500,000 tons more are imported at a cost of \$87,500,000. The South consumes half of this, and produces little.

With the indispensable condition of coal and iron so fully met, what is it to

interfere with the great manufacturing future of Tennessee? Col. Sam Morgan, of Nashville, demonstrated to Mr. Lawrence, of Massachusetts, some years since, that he was manufacturing cotton at a lower price in this State than it was done at Lowell.

The leading agricultural productions of Tennessee were in 1860:

Wheat.....	5,459,268 bushels
Corn.....	52,089,926 "
Tobacco.....	43,448,000 pounds
Cotton.....	296,496 bales
Wool.....	1,495,236 pounds
Potatoes.....	3,800,000 bushels
Home Manufacture.....	88,177,000
Value Animals Slaughtered.....	12,430,698
Value Live Stock.....	60,211,725
Value Farms.....	271,358,985
Value Farm Implements.....	3,165,792
Land Improved.....	6,795,387 acres
Land Unimproved, but inclosed.....	13,873,828 acres

This is a large, varied, and splendid exhibition of industry, and contrasts well with that of any similar community in the world.

The finances of the State are improving, and her credit is as good as that of any of her sisters, though she has liberally used it in behalf of great public improvements.

The debt proper of Tennessee, as given by the Governor a short time since, was in amount, including interest, \$4,744,160; besides which she has lent her credit to the railroads to the extent of \$16,213,000, which the roads will eventually liquidate. The debt proper includes bonds issued to turnpikes, banks, railroads, the Hermitage, and the State Capitol; and the loan of bonds, on which interest is due to the amount of \$3,769,507, is as follows:*

These roads are in prosperous condition and are worth vastly more than the amount for which they are pledged.

East Tennessee and Virginia.....	\$1,592,000
East Tennessee and Georgia.....	1,160,000
Memphis and Charleston.....	1,080,000
Memphis and Ohio.....	1,493,000
McMinnville and Manchester.....	364,000
Tennessee and Alabama.....	853,000
Mississippi and Central Tennessee.....	574,000
Mobile and Ohio.....	1,296,000
Edgefield and Kentucky and Louisville and Nashville.....	211,000
Memphis, Clarksville and Louisville.....	1,402,000
Winchester and Alabama.....	433,000
Louisville and Nashville.....	455,000
Edgefield and Kentucky.....	645,000
Central Southern.....	594,000
Rogersville and Jefferson.....	159,000
Mississippi and Tennessee.....	95,000
Nashville and Chattanooga.....	154,000
Nashville and Northwestern.....	1,455,000
Cincinnati Cumberland Gap and Charleston.....	182,000
Knoxville and Kentucky.....	150,000
Bonds issued to turnpike companies.....	65,000
Bonds issued to Agricultural Bureau.....	50,000

Total State bonds loaned..... \$14,006,000

The financiering must be very defective, and the management of railroads very culpable indeed, if the bonds of Tennessee are not shortly at a premium in the market.

* Recently the Legislature has provided for the payment of this interest by the issue of new bonds, and has afforded still further aid to most of the roads to the extent of several millions of dollars. The total amount of bonds to railroads, old funded and new, is now \$24,382,833, but it is to be observed that for its security the State holds first mortgages upon all of the roads, and may foreclose whenever a road fails to provide from its earnings the interest due upon the bonds.

The following is the extent of railroads in Tennessee, as classified by the United States authorities in 1860:

	Miles.	Cost.
Central Southern.....	47 53	\$1,079,573
Cleveland and Chattanooga.....	50 42	867,210
East Tennessee and Georgia.....	110 50	3,037,867
East Tennessee and Virginia.....	103 25	2,005,297
Edgefield and Kentucky.....	45 70	1,299,771
Memphis and Charleston and branches.....	290 93	6,744,647
Memphis and Ohio.....	130 60	2,612,010
Memphis and Louisville.....	56 50	1,592,513
McMinnville and Manchester.....	34 20	690,026
Mississippi Central and Tennessee.....	40 —	1,153,977
Nashville and Chattanooga and branches.....	153 75	3,682,882
Nashville and Northwestern.....	95 40	2,460,000
Tennessee and Alabama.....	45 81	1,155,053
Winchester and Alabama.....	38 12	629,662
	1,203 62	30,975,996
Deduct Memphis and Charleston in Mississippi and Alabama.....	158 00	4,367,273
	1,045 62	26,608,723
Add Mobile and Ohio per Alabama.....	117 30	3,519,000
Total in Tennessee.....	1,197 92	29,537,723

But I must postpone for another paper a more detailed account of the resources of the country embraced in the great route which I am advocating.

VI.—NASHVILLE AND WHAT OF ITS FUTURE.

The store-keepers and other tenantry of Nashville, have recently been in council to demand a reduction of rents. This is an unfavorable omen, and should attract the attention of its enterprising citizens as evidence of one or two things—either that the trade of the city is at a stand-still or decline, or that its proprietors are more than usually rapacious, which ought not to be supposed. In either case the fact affords ground for serious mediation.

Certainly there is no more inviting spot on the continent than the region of which the Capital of Tennessee is the heart and centre. A writer, several years ago, but expresses the opinion of every stranger when he said:

"There is not perhaps in the West, a more interesting view than that commanded from the summit of the Capitol Hill, in the city of Nashville. Covering the base of the hill, and crowding to the extreme margin of the business laden Cumberland, is the city itself, its streets alive with the bustle of an active commerce, and its suburbs literally growing under the eye of the spectator. Surrounding the city with a cluster of beautiful cultivation, lie extensive and valuable farms intersected by the numerous turnpikes, which, centering in the city, radiate to opposite neighborhoods; and girdling in all with a quiet security, rises a range of low and pleasant hills covered with picturesque woods and graceful dwellings. The traveler knows that he stands in the midst of untold abundance; mineral wealth forcing itself through the soil, and that soil ready to yield any advance they may make upon it."

The centre of a State possessed of such vast and varied resources as Tennessee, and with such a region tributary to her, not only in that State, but in Northern Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, a part of Kentucky; of growing opulence, and with a capacity to become the distributor of the great products of the West to the seaboard at Charleston, Savannah, and even Baltimore and Richmond, it may well be marvelled at that the traders of Nashville are required to practice a stricter economy.

No doubt the beautiful, fertile, and healthy country around will continue to attract population from a distance, and the excellent society and admirable educational facilities will have their influences; but these, it will be found, alone, are not sufficient to make a great city. The avenues of commerce, as has been hinted before, by a liberal enterprise, must be opened, and all appliances of manufactures must be brought into play.

And what a field for manufactures have we here; yet, where are they? Develop your coal, and iron, and erect your cotton and woolen, tobacco, and nail, your

boot and shoe factories, wherever you please, and with cheapness of living and labor which can easily be controlled, where will capital pay more handsome results than here? Can the annual revenues of citizens be more productively employed, and yet who in Nashville seems to be ready for the new era which the condition of the country has opened? Each thousand dollars invested in a factory will introduce and perhaps support several families, who will buy your provisions, and rent your tenements. We have even failed, though an attempt was made to do it, to provide mechanical power to be leased to operatives, and yet capitalists of Nashville express surprise that business rents are at a decline.

Even while I write, the magnificent enterprise of Memphis is striking in every quarter for new trade, and prosperity, and is contributing with liberal hand to every feasible scheme; her grand river front is extending, and swarms with commerce; whole blocks of streets of imposing warehouses and dwellings are going up, and population is flocking in from every quarter. Grant that she has natural advantages; but what have these done for her in comparison with intelligent, active and ceaseless enterprise?

And shall we in Nashville sit down and weep over our losses, and see our population and wealth depart; or like men resolutely seize upon the means within our reach, and win supremacy, because we have deserved it? There is no royal road to wealth in these iron days; it comes from hard blows and ceaseless struggle!

With Memphis, St. Louis, and Cincinnati straining every nerve in competition for the trade which should belong to Nashville, and reducing her to the condition almost of a besieged city, it will be vain to call upon Hercules for help, whilst our own broad shoulders are in repose.

Trade, as I have said before, seeks points easiest of egress and entrance, where capital and competition exist, and, I may add, has no partialities of kindred or patriotism. It seeks ever to sell the dearest and buy the cheapest.

There is much to be done by Nashville, as we shall see hereafter, to increase her population, trade and opulence; but it might as well be noted here, that her Board of Trade should begin the work, by publishing an annual statement, in pamphlet form, as is done in almost every large city, and circulating it broadcast. In this report, not only the actual commerce and manufactures of the city may be stated, but the capacity of each branch of trade for extension, the openings for every kind of enterprise which exist, the manufacturing facilities afforded, the means and cost of living, the wages and demand for labor, and in fact all such information as would attract population and traffic. These are the advertisements which other cities send forth and which reap their fruits in continually increasing prosperity. The creed which they practice should be ours:

"Let us then be up and doing
With a heart for every fate,
Still resolving, still pursuing;
Learn to labor and to wait."

The returns of the Assessor and of the Internal Revenue Bureau, show that there is wealth enough in Nashville and its vicinity, in real and personal estate, in incomes, etc., to afford an early investment of several million dollars in new and remunerative branches of industry, including the still further developments of her connection with the interior, and such investments, by showing the spirit and faith of the people, would invite from abroad several times that amount. The people of Nashville might better invest a third, or half even, of their capital in this manner, than weep over the gradual decline of the whole, for after all that has been said, can there be any reasonable doubt of the policy of such investments? Are there any causes except such as we are responsible for, why Nashville cannot fabricate with equal advantage every article that is fabricated, for example, at St. Louis or Louisville?

The credit of the city has always been good, and although there are temporary influences affecting it, when the proper enterprise awakens, her bonds will rise with rapidity in the market, and her credit can again be generously and liberally extended to local enterprises. The day need not be distant,

The value of real estate in the city, as kindly furnished me by Mr. Hale, the recent assessor, was in 1860, \$12,429,750, and in 1866, \$17,344,750. The corporate debt is in the vicinity of \$800,000, of which \$500,000 was for the Chattanooga Railroad, of which the city has received back about one-half. The aggregate taxes are about two cents on the dollar, (including the railroad tax,) which is less than those of many other cities.

The amount levied by the Internal Revenue office, including incomes, upon a loose valuation, was, for 1865, as I am informed by Mr. Norvell, \$511,050.

Now, supposing the internal revenue were increased to \$600,000, would the people of the city be greatly damaged by that small advance, which would be the increase if a million of dollars, in bonds additional, were issued to railroads, of which the interest must be paid by taxes? Or supposing that the real estate of the city were saddled with the encumbrance, would its sufferings be deplorable under an additional tax of about thirty-three cents in every hundred dollars? Perhaps these matters may be worthy of consideration.

The population of Nashville, which was in 1830 but 5,566 (a small town,) was in 1840, 6,929, in 1850, 10,778, and in 1860, without the suburbs, 16,988. In the last period of ten years Memphis sprung up from 8,839 to 22,623 and thus left us behind in the race. These figures, however, give but a part of the truth, as they leave out the large suburban population. During the war Nashville must have had a population of 50,000 to 60,000, and her population to-day cannot be less than 35,000 or 40,000.

The manufacturing product of the city proper is not given in the census, but for Davidson county, including Nashville, the statistics were for 1860:

Establishments.....	75
Capital invested.....	\$1,520,000
Cost of raw material.....	\$984,848
Males employed.....	1,256
Females employed.....	62
Annual cost of labor.....	\$454,057
Annual value of product.....	\$2,076,870

The leading products, which have increased very greatly since that time, were:

Agricultural implements.....	\$30,000
Boots and Shoes.....	75,000
Carriages.....	71,000
Iron works.....	288,000
Lumber.....	391,000
Soap and Candles.....	225,000
Tobacco.....	62,000
Lard Oil.....	65,000

It is a significant fact that whilst the manufactures of Nashville embraced a list of 29 articles, those of St. Louis embraced 122, of the value of \$27,610,000, and Louisville 81 articles, valued at \$14,135,517. Consult the list in the volume of manufactures of the United States census, citizens, capitalists and merchants of Nashville, and you will find that every one of these articles may be manufactured as cheaply within our limits!

VII.—CONNECTION OF THE SOUTHERN SEABOARD AND THE VALLEYS OF THE OHIO AND THE MISSISSIPPI.

Having in the progress of these papers shown the great influence exercised by railroads in the advancement of cities and the general development of the interior, and considered in particular the condition of Tennessee and of Nashville with reference to such improvements, and the causes which are at work to influence or retard their prosperity, I have in fact prepared a proper introduction to the particular topic which forms the caption of the present article and which constitutes the main purpose of the series.

What is ambitious in the title given to this enterprise by the charter, which with great liberality was voted by the Legislature of the State at a recent ses-

sion, to wit: "Tennessee Pacific," will form the subject of and be fully treated in my next contribution. The charter pledges State aid to the work and names a board of commissioners in the several counties, who constitute some of the most solid and enterprising men in the State. If there be any justice in the remark that some of them are new-comers, that not enough of the old and leading citizens are embraced, and that the charter is loosely framed, these are all matters easily remedied in the event, and none of them are of any weight to prevent a fair and full consideration of the merits of the scheme.

The terms of the charter embrace the construction of a railroad from the city of Knoxville, via Nashville and Jackson, to the Mississippi river at Memphis, on the shortest and most direct route, thus seeking to connect the extremest points of the State on the most practicable route through the centre. It will thus constitute in fact a great central road, by whatever other name it may be designated.

This is no new projection. It runs back in the history of the State to a period which antedates any of its railroads, and almost antedates the construction of railroads anywhere in the country. As early as 1837, Governor Cannon called the attention of the Legislature to the subject, when the South Carolina commissioners were here urging us to meet them on the frontier of the State, and unite in the splendid conception which Charleston entertained of a railroad to the Ohio and the Mississippi.

At a time when railroads were so new to the people that a distinguished citizen of Charleston, Stephen Elliott, in writing for the *Southern Review*, Vol. III. p. 90, 1831, undertook gravely to tell how the roads were to be built, viz.: "To drive wooden piles every six feet apart in parallel lines—the heads of the piles being bound together by sleepers," the prophetic vision of that great man indulged a view of the future in which he "entertained trembling hopes," as he says, "that we should not choose to expose to the eye of the scorner, when we extend our grasp to embrace the Western States by extending the railroad to the Tennessee. The trip may thus be made to the Ohio in ten days. Linked by such a tie we may see Charleston what she might be, second only to New York."

An appropriation having been made by our Legislature, a survey of the entire line of the State, from the eastern to the western limits, was made, but in rather a cursory manner, for the want of means, by A. M. Lea, State Engineer. This report I have by me, and although it selected Randolph, and not Memphis, then in its infancy, for a terminus, it will greatly facilitate future surveys.

Omitting all reference to what it contains in regard to the country to the west of Nashville, as not coming within our present province, let us look a little into what is said upon the subject of the mountains, the route and the means of construction.

Beginning at the lower base of the Cumberland Mountains, the experienced and practical engineer tells us that he found a route near Sparta, and ending on White creek, quite practicable, and with a grade not exceeding sixty feet to the mile, a much lower grade than is found quite manageable on other roads. This route was that of the stage from McMinnville to Knoxville, and abounded with timber. It is now known that others and perhaps more feasible routes exist, which a more detailed survey will develop; but Mr. Lea is so impressed with the feasibility of the one indicated, that he estimated when railroad construction was nearly as expensive as now, that the bed of the road might be laid for \$7,500 per mile. The whole distance from the point selected near Sparta to Knoxville, he gives as one hundred and two miles, which would make the entire distance from Nashville to Knoxville about one hundred and seventy miles. The expenses of the mountain division, he considers, would be heaviest at two points, to wit: one and a half miles at the summit at \$40,000 per mile, and eleven miles at the east base at \$10,000 per mile. The rest of the route is stated at an average of \$4,000 per mile.

This division, he says, passes through the most valuable part of the State.

The immense quantity and fine quality of bituminous coal and various kinds of iron ore placed in juxtaposition give that region a degree of mineral wealth not exceeded by any other in the world.

The important work, therefore, of connecting the two great sections of Tennessee, by the shortest and most direct route, is now plainly before us. We know the character of the country at one terminus of the road, to wit: the great "inland sea" of the West. What it is at the other is well expressed in the following extract from the *Knoxville Register*, but will be more fully seen as I advance with these papers:

"We have not the slightest hesitation in saying that there is not a portion of the continent of the same extent of territory as East Tennessee, that presents such a harvest of gold to the enterprising capitalists as may be reaped in this Switzerland of America, when the great railroad connections are made to it. When these great chains shall have thus linked together these immense mineral resources will be developed; then will the iron, coal, copper, zinc, lead, timber, water-power, soil, marble, lime, etc., which hitherto have been considered useless, for want of outlets, become sources of boundless wealth."

VIII.—A SOUTHERN ROUTE TO THE PACIFIC.

It is conceived with justice by the authors of this enterprise, that whatever its other merits, as a great interior trunk of the State of Tennessee, it has the further and signal merit of supplying an important link to the chain of connections, by the easiest, most direct and shortest line between the cities of the Atlantic, by whatever Southern route may be selected, and the Pacific Ocean.

For many years the people of the South evinced the liveliest interest on the subject of a road to the Pacific through its own territory, and it was the foremost object of discussion at the first Memphis Convention in 1845, over which Mr. Calhoun presided, as it has been at almost every convention that has since been held. Arguments amounting to demonstration were urged, showing that it was by many hundred miles the most feasible route; but the energy, the enterprise, the management and combination of the North, in this as in most other measures, succeeded, and a route through its territories is being actively prosecuted, aided by the most munificent offerings of the Federal Government.

Truth, however, though "crushed to earth, will rise again," and the scheme of a Southern connection is attracting the attention of capitalists and men of enterprise, and is likely soon to be put in a practicable way of accomplishment.

It will not do to limit the capacities of a country like ours. If there be room for one road across the continent, there will be room for two. Population and wealth go hand in hand with railroad extension, and Arkansas, Texas, Western Louisiana, Arizona, and Northern Mexico, under American auspices, will develop themselves in a degree proportionate with the Northwest.

The *American Railroad Journal* for April 7th, 1866, remarks:

"Another route, known as the Southern Pacific, to pass from the Bay of San Francisco to San Diego, and thence to the Mississippi river, is being discussed in California, with much zeal and with a great show of argument and necessity. Congress is already appealed to for its fostering care."

At the head of this enterprise, it is understood is John Charles Fremont, who is said to be in connection with wealthy capitalists of the North.

The *Journal* adds in regard to the new route:

"Each road will have a terminus of its own, and all will command a special trade, while interior connections will develop interior centres of great value." "It is believed we are to see as a certain result the growth of a magnificent empire on the Pacific, and our country obtain the control of the commerce of Asia." "More than this—we shall see an entire change in the commercial routes of Europe and the maritime ascendancy of the United States." "The plains are certainly to be populated by an industrious race, who will be as quick to improve their advantages as we have been."

The same journal of the date of March 31st, 1866, says:

"A memorial has been prepared asking lands from Congress for a route which will develop Arizona, New Mexico, West Texas, Indian Territory, etc., and be the shortest across American soil, being free from snow and of easy grade. The length will not be more than 1,200 or 1,250 miles from San Diego to ports on the Mexican Gulf."

Referring to the Texas route to the Pacific, A. M. Lea, the author of the survey to which I referred to in my last, from Knoxville to the Mississippi, said in a pamphlet published in 1859 :

"The distance from New Orleans to Mazatlan is 1,140 miles. Of this eighty miles to Berwick's Bay are finished, as much more graded, iron purchased for one hundred and sixty-three miles, and the means secured for still another hundred miles. Only eight hundred more remain to be provided for, of easy construction and no serious difficulties. The route to the Rio Grande is covered by the charter of the Aransas Company, and that to the Pacific by grants under decrees of the Supreme Government of Mexico. By steamship the time from Mazatlan to San Diego would be four days."

In his report of 1857, Captain Marcy, of the United States Army, a Northern man, refers to the Southern route to Fort Smith, Arkansas, united with a route from the Rio Grande to San Diego, which would give a great national highway in a very direct and practicable line, and easily to be accomplished.

Col. Gadsden, a distinguished citizen of South Carolina, in his report of 1846, may almost be said to have originated the idea of a Southern route, in which he was ably seconded by Mr. Patterson, of Vidalia, Louisiana.

"A road," said Col. G., "will in time traverse the newly acquired territory of Texas, and by the Mexican provinces terminate at Mazatlan in the Bay of California, or, more northerly, by the Red and Arkansas rivers, by the Southern gorges in the Stony mountains, to find a more imposing terminus in the Bay of San Francisco."

Prof. Forshay, of Louisiana, estimated the distance of this route from Natchez to Mazatlan at 1,491 miles, "in a country so feasible that the cost of construction would not exceed \$2,200 per mile. The route from Memphis to San Diego would not exceed 1,500 miles." (The Northern routes range from 2,000 to 2,400 miles.)

In reference to this Southern road, the author of these notes, as Chairman of the Committee of the Memphis Convention, in 1849, prepared an address, from which the following is extracted :

"This route intercepts in its course the regions upon Red river, the whole of Northern Texas, Chihuahua, Coahuila, etc., now almost entirely without market. It leaves the Mississippi at a point always navigable by large vessels from the ocean, and is very nearly central to the whole Union, Memphis being about that central point. It is south of the Ohio river, and its tributaries from Pennsylvania, Virginia, Kentucky, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and Tennessee, and on that account, within easy control of the immense flatboat commerce of these regions. The great Mobile railroad, the Georgia, Carolina and Virginia railroads all strike for the Mississippi valley near these points. It is in a medium climate throughout, not likely to be disturbed by frosts and snows of northern regions. It is several hundred miles shorter than any other route, and can be built for greatly less expense. It has no physical obstructions and, for the most of the way to El Paso, is through a level country, supplied with every variety and abundance of timber, fertile in soil, but without access to market; peopled in half its extent and capable of dense population for three-fourths of the whole distance. It is through a healthy region after leaving the Red river, and connects Texas with the heart of the Union. Should the road in any part of its course necessarily cross the Gila river, the case is provided for in our treaty of purchase from Mexico."

Having thus referred historically to the subject of a Southern route to the Pacific, it will only be necessary to ask citizens of Tennessee to refer to the map to discover that at whatever point the road may strike the Mississippi, from Memphis down, the vast travel which it will engender, must pass to a great extent over the Central Road of Tennessee from Knoxville to Memphis. The States of North Carolina and Virginia by their western connections at or near Knoxville, and all of the States to the north and east of them, will find the interior diagonal line to the Southwest, on the plainest principles of mathematics, the shortest and most direct. Charleston, by the Blue Ridge Road, must take this route, and when Cincinnati constructs her road to Northern Georgia, or we build a road to Cincinnati, the intersection which must necessarily be formed with this road will throw upon it the Southwestern travel from that quarter.

The immense passage and freight traffic which our road would enjoy in the supposed case, and which must be realized in the next ten or fifteen years, can scarcely be reduced to figures without exciting incredulity, but it is not upon such hypothesis that the success of the enterprise is by any means predicated, as subsequent papers will show.

IX.—THE ROAD FROM NASHVILLE TO KNOXVILLE.

It was said in my last that the merits of the Central road of Tennessee, and its claims for consideration and favor, are not dependent upon, or in any degree related to, the eventualities of a Southern route to the Pacific, probable and important as these eventualities are; and the further position is now taken, that without reference to the Memphis extension, the road to Knoxville alone, as an independent proposition, is one pre-eminently entitled to the attention of capitalists, and to the attention of all who are interested in the progress and prosperity of Nashville and the State at large.

A direct road from Nashville to Memphis is, of course, a great desideratum, and it is in part already accomplished by the intersection of our Northwestern with the Memphis and Louisville road, thus shortening the distance very materially, over the route *via* Decatur and the Memphis and Charleston road. It is probable that the shrewd, enterprising and wealthy men of Memphis will soon see the necessity of striking for a shorter route, which is provided for under our charter, and it may safely be left to their enterprise, and that of the Western portion of the State, to move in proper time to secure it if we do justice to ourselves by effecting the connection with Knoxville. It will be time enough to appeal to that portion of the State when we have shown our faith by our works in this.

As an independent proposition, then, a road from Nashville to Knoxville rests upon the following among other considerations:

First. It intersects and binds together the great sections of the State, hitherto to some extent at enmity, and now that the relations of slavery have ceased, and the main cause of separation is removed, it guarantees identity of interests, and will engender a common State pride and affinity between the remotest points. Without such connection the interests and relations of the mountaineers are as much, if not more, with other States than their own, and thus the value of State nationality is lost.

Second. It shortens more than one-third the distance between the two points, shortening very greatly our connections with Richmond and the North by the East Tennessee and Virginia improvements, and with Charleston by the Blue Ridge road, which, we shall see hereafter, is almost certain to be completed.

Third. It will enter into active competition with any road which the enterprise of Cincinnati and Louisville may direct upon the eastern portion of the State, and intersect such roads as strike through our central division for the trade of Chattanooga and Northern Georgia and Alabama. This is an evident proposition, as may be seen by the map. Already Cincinnati is surveying the route to Chattanooga. Louisville is moving quietly but surely in the direction of Knoxville, as the recent action of her railroad authorities show, which is in turn actively impressed with the importance of a Cincinnati connection.

Fourth. Should a direct road be determined upon between Nashville and Cincinnati, such as was advocated recently by a committee of our citizens who visited the great emporium of the West, that road must inevitably form a junction with this, somewhere in the vicinity of Lebanon, and give it for an important part of the route the advantages of a grand trunk road, with termini in the mountains of Tennessee and upon the central Ohio. Thus, if we did nothing more than construct the road to Lebanon, it would be an important and paying enterprise, and even without the Cincinnati connection, a Lebanon and Nashville road would support itself as well as any of the short roads of the country, and is as much required.

Fifth. The road will develop virgin country of great capabilities, which is now shut off from market, but which is susceptible of the largest increase in population and wealth.

Sixth. It will open the country for new settlement and for immigration, where cheap lands can be had, which are otherwise difficult of attainment in the State, and upon the only condition on which it can be opened, to wit, by the opening of new markets.

Seventh. It will develop the boundless mineral resources of what has been called the Switzerland of America. These resources have been briefly referred to in another paper, and will be still further discussed hereafter. They have been explained and pointed out by Prof. Troost, in a series of able essays; have been remarked upon by all Geologists, and shown upon a chart of the State now before me, prepared several years ago by Prof. Safford, the State Geologist. He locates the coal measures in Fentress, White, Van Buren, Bledsoe, Scott, etc., and the iron in Claiborne, Campbell, Anderson, Roane, Rhea, etc.

Eighth. It traverses a country which, even in its present condition, presents no greater physical obstacles than, and is possessed of resources and wealth quite equal to, those of many of the roads that have been constructed in the last few years, and which are now successful and prosperous.

The statistics which support the above propositions, when any are needed, will be presented at another time.

It is sufficient to say here that a surveying party will shortly enter the field, instructed to make full examination of the route, and that it will then be practicable to speak more specifically of its manifold merits. The character of the engineers will insure a faithful report and one in which the public may have entire confidence.

X.—RESOURCES OF THE COUNTRY BETWEEN NASHVILLE AND KNOXVILLE.

It cannot be ascertained precisely in advance of surveys, what will be the route of the railroad which shall connect the cities of Nashville and Knoxville with each other and with the Atlantic seabords on the shortest and practicable route, but sufficient is known of the country from earlier surveys and reconnaissances to say that the road will interest, develop and bring into play in a greater or less degree the resources of the counties of Wilson, Smith, DeKalb, White, Morgan, Bledsoe, Rhea, Roane, and Knox, Putnam, Anderson, Cumberland, Cannon, Warren, Overton, Fentress, and Van Buren; and should it form, as more probably it would, for a part of the distance, a trunk road to Knoxville and Cincinnati, the wealthy counties of Sumner and Macon would add greatly to its local importance.

The counties which are named below, reported in 1860, as the product of their market gardens, less than \$30,000, which might readily be swelled to twenty times that amount, and about 20,000 tons of hay, which with railroad facilities would reach several hundred thousand tons. The very small growth of cotton will, no doubt, be immensely added to, in the present period of high prices. The other statistics of the counties were as follows:

	Population.	Val. Farms	Val. Live Stock.	Wheat, Bushels.	Corn, Bushels.	Tobacco, lbs.
Wilson.....	26,072	9,989,447	2,592,550	161,747	1,781,955	852,864
Smith.....	16,357	4,858,147	1,098,547	72,568	972,793	2,581,872
DeKalb.....	10,575	1,858,285	506,238	99,090	519,780	67,212
White.....	9,351	1,341,198	459,839	80,439	472,568	24,504
Morgan.....	8,333	501,805	141,205	8,562	109,942	18,320
Bledsoe.....	4,460	614,642	250,823	18,380	315,400	7,011
Rhea.....	74,991	1,171,640	258,979	81,892	295,280	8,651
Roane.....	13,558	8,420,610	626,065	103,734	751,790	80,628
Knox.....	22,813	4,480,870	846,258	188,293	779,504	20,441

	Home Manuf'ct'r.	Animals Slaught'd.	Capital in Manuf'c'a.	Product.	Ag. Real & Per. Est.
Wilson.....	\$222,286	\$414,209	\$185,055	\$517,691	\$27,878,692
Smith.....	45,710	209,765	47,450	169,730	10,716,862
DeKalb.....	92,287	97,281	47,750	75,970	4,461,586
White.....	18,007	88,241	48,400	66,515	3,694,080
Morgan.....	10,213	32,650	37,800	27,700	890,775
Bledsoe.....	16,669	44,889	2,000	7,510	2,205,148
Rhea.....	10,487	67,520	Not given	Not given	2,486,806
Roane.....	155,707	285,847	387,971	294,975	7,611,519
Knox.....	88,667	212,097	348,580	586,493	12,981,804

The county of Davidson is thrown out of the calculation. Thus it will be seen that these counties alone have a population equivalent to one-tenth of the entire population of the State, and a real and personal estate valuation of about seventy millions of dollars, or fifteen times the cost of the proposed railroad. Their farms are worth nearly thirty millions of dollars, their live stock four and a half, the annual product of their inconsiderable and undeveloped manufactures, a million of dollars. They grow half a million of bushels of wheat, nearly six million bushels corn, and three and a half million pounds of tobacco.

The counties of Cannon, Warren, Overton, Fentress, and Van Buren, make the following exhibit (Sumner and Macon have a population of 29,320, an aggregate of real and personal estate of \$21,940,080 and produce 3,000,000 pounds of tobacco, and a million and a half bushels of corn), and must be observed in regard to all the statistics that they report for 1860, and it must be largely increased in the future:

Population.....	49,524
Value of Farms.....	\$7,080,665
Wheat, bushels.....	167,665
Corn.....	1,846,519
Real and Personal Estate.....	\$17,720,066

The value of live stock was about two million; tobacco product 100,000 pounds; product of manufactures one hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

The population of some of the counties which follow was actually less in 1860 than in 1850, which is a very significant fact, and should furnish an appeal to the people of that portion of the State, stronger than any argument I could use in favor of a vigorous effort in the direction of internal improvements. The enhancement in the value of land, though large, is not one-third of what it would have been with such improvements:

	—Population—		—Val. Lands—	
	1850.	1860.	1850.	1860.
Davidson.....	49,065	36,882	6,619,199	19,929,974
Wilson.....	26,072	27,473	2,881,325	9,989,447
Smith.....	16,367	13,712	1,280,723	4,353,147
DeKalb.....	10,573	8,016	508,894	1,856,285
White.....	9,381	11,444	706,079	1,271,198
Morgan.....	3,353	3,430	333,970	561,805
Roane.....	13,558	12,185	1,061,966	8,420,610
Knox.....	22,310	18,807	1,977,168	4,480,570

It will be observed that the statistics of only certain of the counties assumed to be directly or indirectly interested in the road are given, but the result will not be changed if any other of the counties named are taken, as the reader can readily ascertain for himself.

The counties upon the route of the railroad between Louisville and Nashville, showed in 1860 a less valuation of real and personal estate than those on the proposed route to Knoxville, and about the same aggregate population, the same valuation of farms and a less manufacturing product, and yet this is one of the most flourishing roads in the country, and its local tariff is enormous.

The New Orleans and Great Northern Railroad, another prosperous enterprise, was carried to Jackson, Mississippi, when the population on the route was a third less than ours, and the valuation of farms was only one-third the value of those on the Knoxville road.

The Charleston and Hamburg, equally prosperous, accommodated at first less than 75,000 inhabitants on the route, whose farms were only worth about fifteen millions of dollars.

A stronger case than either, is that of the Mobile and Ohio road, which for the first 150 miles passed through counties having only 17,000 inhabitants, whose farms were worth less than a million of dollars.

I am prepared to show, and shall do so hereafter, that the *through* travel upon the road to Knoxville will be as great as (I believe much greater than) upon either of these prosperous lines, and it may be assumed without controversy, that the *local* travel will be as great. Mr. Guthrie in his report of the

operations of the Louisville and Nashville Railroad for 1865-6, one of the most admirable documents of the kind ever published, gives the local travel on that road, exclusively such as belongs to the termini, as follows:

Revenue for local travel,.....	\$557,958 40.
" freight,.....	489,424 34
" Mail and Express,.....	165,451 55
	<hr/>
	\$1,212,834 29

The Superintendent, Mr. Fink, adds, "the fact is established that the *local* business alone, which is constantly increasing, yields sufficient revenue to pay a dividend of 8 per cent. per annum, provided the road can be run as heretofore for about 50 per cent. of the gross earnings." This local business increased from 303,000 for six months when the road was opened, to \$932,000 for a similar period in 1866.

Mr. John Caldwell, proposed recently to be made State Geologist, says of the resources of East Tennessee:

"I have spent [more than six weeks in tracing and exploring the veins of calamine and carbonate of zinc, in the valleys of East Tennessee—or that part lying between Knoxville and Bristol—and] with the single purpose of ascertaining certainly whether we have that ore in such quantity as will justify the construction of the works necessary for its reduction, together with the compounding of zinc and copper, in order to furnish ourselves, as well as surrounding States, with the brass of commerce; and I am happy to inform you that the abundance and character of the ores have exceeded my most sanguine expectations. On the long section alluded to above, iron, lead, zinc, mercury, gold and silver exist."

This testimony corresponds with that of Prof. Safford, recently State Geologist, who prepared the admirable map already referred to, showing all the locations of the coal, iron, and other mineral formations of the State with great precision and detail. By reference it will be discovered how abundant are the coal deposits, and how accessible to the line of the proposed railroad. Prof. Troost, who has made a geological survey of the State, furnishes the most abundant evidence of its great and inexhaustible wealth.

A correspondent of the Mining and Manufacturing Journal of the present year says:

"The great iron region of Eastern Tennessee lies between the Alleghany and Cumberland mountains, in the valleys of Knoxville and Chattanooga. The deposits of Middle Tennessee occupy the Cumberland Valley on the West. Those of Western Tennessee embrace that portion of the State lying mostly east of the Tennessee, and south of Cumberland rivers. The ores of Eastern Tennessee are mostly the "brownhematite." They are very valuable. Pig iron from the purer varieties obtained by smelting with charcoal is convertible into steel.

"The numerous furnaces and forges springing up along the Tennessee from Knoxville to Chattanooga testify to the abundance and value of iron ore in this part of Tennessee. Eastern capitalists, including parties from Pittsburgh, are establishing rolling mills along the centre of these vast deposits. Rail mills are already projected. Should these deposits hold out as they now promise we may expect to see this the great iron distributing centre for the South and Southeast."

But vast as are the coal and iron resources, there is another item of wealth which has not yet been referred to, and with which the present letter shall close. I refer to PETROLEUM, an article which has added such immense sums to the national wealth.

The special correspondent of the *Pittsburg Oil Journal*, who traversed the State in its service, says of its Petroleum resources in a letter published in July last:

"As we follow this grand reservoir of oil through Virginia, it is found to be more productive and of better quality than in Pennsylvania; and still further South, through Kentucky, it becomes yet more productive, and after passing into Tennessee the developments are yet richer; so much, indeed, that it fairly promises to eclipse Pithole or Oil Creek."

"Both in Tennessee and Northern Alabama there is found in abundance, naphtha, petroleum, elastic bitumen, mineral caoutchouc, compact bitumen, asphaltum, mineral pitch, bituminous canelidum, mineral oil and the Seneca oil of New York. From careful examination it is confidently believed that the unmistakable evidence of the presence of rich deposits of oil has no equal in the country, outside of these States.

XI.—ROUTE, CONSTRUCTION AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES OF THE NASHVILLE AND KNOXVILLE CONNECTION.

In a previous letter a general indication was furnished of the route of the proposed connection of Nashville and Knoxville, but this route must be determined by a variety of considerations to be determined hereafter. Lebanon, Milledgeville, Crossville and Kingston, will probably fall in or near the line, and there is evidence that the mountain can be crossed with a much less grade than many which have been adopted by other roads. These grades as given in the able report of Mr. Millnor, of the Central Alabama road, at the highest elevations, are:

Baltimore and Ohio.....	116 ft. per mile.
New York and Erie.....	60 " "
Boston and Albany to Buffalo.....	80 " "
Chattanooga Road.....	105 " "

And the points attained above high water, were, on the

Mobile and Ohio Road.....	505 feet.
Charleston and Nashville.....	1,156 "
Boston and Albany to Buffalo.....	1,460 "
New York and Erie to Dunkirk.....	1,750 "
Pennsylvania Central.....	2,100 "
Baltimore and Ohio.....	2,370 "

The question of such grades is one of locomotive capacity. If the locomotive will, on a level, transport 1,000 tons, the amount on a grade of fifty feet to the mile is reduced to two hundred and eighty-one; of one hundred feet to one hundred and fifty-five tons, and one hundred and twenty feet to one hundred and thirty tons.

Taking into consideration all the circumstances of the country to be traversed, the present enhanced price of iron, thirty-three per cent. on old prices (the value of labor and the cost of material being very little greater), it may safely be calculated that the cost of the road will not exceed \$30,000 per mile on the whole route, which, assuming one hundred and seventy miles as the distance, would be \$5,100,000. When it is considered, however, that the iron for the road may be produced and rolled in the country where it is used, a saving may be counted upon in transportation and handling, which will bring the aggregate expenditure down to about \$4,500,000.

1. Private subscriptions.....	\$250,000
2. County subscriptions along the route of the road, including Davidson and the city of Nashville.....	1,250,000
3. State and Bridge aid under the General Railroad act.....	2,000,000
4. Hypothecation and sale of the Bonds of the Company.....	1,500,000
	<hr/>
	\$5,000,000

In regard to these items, it is to be observed that the amount is to be raised in a period of from one to five years, and during a time when our industry will be actively reviving, and when a large increased population will contribute. Taking the items in their order:

1. This is to suppose that there will be but two hundred and fifty persons in the State so much interested in its prosperity as to subscribe \$1,000 each to an important work, with all the chances, such as they have been exhibited, of eventual profit.

2. Should the counties on the route, which have been taken as examples, subscribe, in the aggregate, their bonds for \$1,000,000, it would be but five per cent. upon the gross value of their lands, while the lands would be at least doubled in value. The interest on the subscription would be one third of one per cent. per annum on that value and the tax would be extinguished in a few

years. Only part of the bonds would be drawing interest while the work was progressing. Davidson county and Nashville will undoubtedly do their part, since the fraction of additional taxation could not weigh a feather in the scale, when a great manufacturing and mineral region is to be opened, now inaccessible and likely to be irretrievably lost in the competition of Cincinnati and Louisville.

3. State aid is pledged to a part of the work to the extent of \$15,000 per mile, and to the whole at \$10,000. As the latter amount has been greatly exceeded in regard to many existing roads, it is highly probable that it will be exceeded in regard to this. Considering the political and material importance of the road, \$15,000 per mile will probably be accorded through the entire extent.

4. It is a safe assumption that a road such as this, which is to expend \$5,000,000 upon construction and equipment, can find no difficulty in obtaining as it goes along, one-third of that amount upon the security which it will furnish, from the capitalists of the North and of Europe, in the shape of money, labor, machinery and iron, and negotiations are about to be opened with that view.

In the above estimates I have not taken into view the probability that heavy individual subscriptions in land may be had, which would be a large source of revenue, and the further probability that by virtue of the general character of the road, as a link in the great Pacific connection, some aid may be obtained from Congress in the way of a donation of public land, to be selected beyond our limits.*

Nor have I considered that as the work advances, and its importance is demonstrated, large private subscriptions will be realized, and aid will come if needed from the roads interested in it as a feeder in the direction of Lynchburg, Richmond and Baltimore.

Should the connection be completed to Memphis on the shortest line, aid can safely be relied upon from that enterprising emporium.

I close this paper with a few remarks upon the subject of city and county aid to railroads.

The construction of the Mobile and Ohio road was secured by the passage of an ordinance by the Council, which after stating that the matter had been submitted to vote, and adopted by over two thirds of the voters, goes on to enact:

"That in addition to the present tax, there shall annually be levied and assessed a special and separate tax of twenty-five cents, and at that rate, on every hundred dollars of value in real estate within the corporate limits of said city, to be called a Railroad Tax, until the amount of three hundred thousand dollars shall have been assessed and collected."

"Sec. 2. *Be it further ordained*, That it shall be the duty of the city tax collector, and he is hereby empowered to collect the said tax in the same manner as other taxes are assessed and collected, under the law now in force. He shall from time to time pay the moneys collected under this law and the ordinance above mentioned, to the Mobile and Ohio Railroad Company, after deducting two per cent. for fees of collection. He shall enter in a well-bound book the names of all persons who shall pay assessments as herein provided, with the amount of their payments, and shall annually return a copy of said book to the said Company; and shall furnish to each person or persons a separate receipt for said railroad tax."

The counties on the route of the New Orleans and Great Northern Road all cheerfully, and by the largest majorities, voted aid to the road; and upon the New Orleans and Opelousas the following were the amounts that the counties assessed upon themselves:

Parish of Orleans, Right Bank,.....	\$75,000.	tax 5 per cent.
St. Mary's Parish.....	100,000,	" 3 "
St. Martin's Parish,....	103,000,	" 5 "
Lafayette Parish.....	33,000,	" 5 "
St. Landrey Parish.....	120,000,	" 5 "
Natchitoches Parish.....	250,000,	" 17½ "

* The United States have granted lands to all roads on the other side of the Mississippi which were links in the route to the Pacific, and donated large amounts also to other roads, as will appear in the following statement which was made up several years ago, and is now complete.

RAILROAD LAND GRANTS.

To Iowa.....	2,476,321 Acres
" Alabama.....	1,148,506 "
" Florida.....	1,377,465 "
" Louisiana.....	1,047,970 "
" Wisconsin.....	2,225,000 "
" Michigan.....	1,910,000 "
" Mississippi.....	200,000 "
" Minnesota.....	1,400,000 "

It was computed in Alabama, when foreign iron could be bought at \$65 per ton, it might be made in her iron districts at \$50 per ton, a saving of about twenty-five per cent. At all events the American iron is much better than the foreign.

XII.—BUSINESS OF THE CENTRAL ROAD.

The cost of the Nashville and Knoxville road having been stated at \$5,000,000, on a liberal estimate, in order that it shall pay a dividend to the stockholders of eight per cent., it will be necessary for its gross annual earnings from freight, passengers, and mail service to reach \$800,000. Upon a circulation of 50 per cent. for working expenses, about the average of other roads, the amount will yield \$400,000 net, which is the sum required.

It is susceptible of demonstration that the road will yield more than that, as the following calculations and statistics will show:

The earnings of the Nashville and Chattanooga Road for the nine and a half months ending June 30, 1866, were \$1,423,530, of which \$517,131 were for passengers alone. Its gross earnings for the year 1860 was \$734,118. For the last year the local business from which all other business in freights and travel is excluded, was on the Louisville and Nashville Road \$1,212,839, of which \$557,958 was from passengers. Total earnings of the road, including branches, \$3,143,189.

Now, it is impossible for any one to examine the map and consider the advantages of this route, without yielding to the conviction that its business will equal that of either of the roads referred to, including their main stems only in the calculation.

The saving in distance by the direct route between Nashville and Knoxville over the route via Chattanooga will be 93 miles, and although the saving between Knoxville and Memphis by the same route via the existing improvements to Johnsonville, McKenzie, etc., will be trifling, compared with that over the Memphis and Charleston road, it will be sufficient at least to attract a part, and perhaps a considerable part, of the travel. Should the line be eventually constructed to Memphis, through Jackson, as contemplated in the charter of the Central Road, the saving in distance would be sufficient to determine the question in its favor. The distance would then be about 375 against 421 miles!

The travel for which the Knoxville road is to enter into competition will be then:

First, All that of the State of Virginia and the States of the Northeast of it which is seeking Middle and Western Tennessee, Arkansas via Memphis, etc., and which demonstrates upon Knoxville by the Virginia and East Tennessee road, Lynchburg and Abingdon.

Second, A great part of that between the same points and the Southwest, Louisiana, Mississippi and Texas via Memphis and Hernando or Jackson, Tennessee and Huntingdon, when that short connection has been completed. The route through Columbia, Tennessee, Mount Pleasant and Canton, or to Corinth, Mississippi, projected and in the event likely to be accomplished, will greatly increase the probabilities of Nashville and Knoxville being brought within the line of Northeastern and Southwestern travel. Should the road form a trunk to Cincinnati its business would be vastly augmented.

Third, The travel between North and South Carolina and the great West, via the Blue Ridge road of the latter, and the internal improvement system of the former, which demonstrates upon Knoxville. St. Louis would be on the most direct and shortest line by these improvements, and in this respect the road may properly be called the Nashville and Charleston road.

Can any one, then, doubt for a moment that the passenger traffic on the Nashville and Knoxville road will equal that of the Louisville trunk, on the Chattanooga road or the Memphis and Charleston, which latter was, in 1859, \$751,923, but assuming a less amount is likely to be the case, there can be a safe figure taken of \$400,000. Will the freight earnings reach \$400,000 additional?*

This amount would not be equal to the earnings of the Memphis and Charleston road in 1861, and is less than half the freight earnings of the Chattanooga road by the last report.

Considering the abundant resources of the country to be traversed, as explained in a previous number, the mining and manufacturing establishments which would start into being, the greatly increased population to be attracted, ought it to be supposed for a moment that the transportation business of this road would be less than that of the one to Chattanooga?

That \$800,000 per annum is a very moderate calculation for the business of such a road will appear also from the following table of Southern roads, some of which were in their infancy in 1860.

EARNINGS OF RAILROADS, 1860.

	Length.	Earnings.
Southwestern Georgia.....	147	\$ 547,872
Central Road.....	191	1,353,782
Western & Atlantic.....	138	832,393
South Carolina.....	242	1,501,008
Virginia Central.....	175	589,822
Richmond & Danville.....	140	461,918

No note is taken in this calculation of the probabilities of the road constituting a link in the chain of connections between the Atlantic and Pacific through Arkansas and Texas. Such an event would cause its earnings to be computed by millions. It need not be added that if a straight line be drawn between the mouth of the Chesapeake and Guaymas, on the Bay of California, a proposed terminus for the Southern road, it would pass sufficiently near to Knoxville, Nashville, Memphis and Little Rock to secure them as points, on the shortest possible line, through our own territory, between the two oceans. I say within our own territory, because there is a probability that negotiations for the purchase of Southern California and a portion of Sonora have already been brought to a favorable termination by the Government.

It is at the same time presumptuous to undertake to say positively what will be the lines of travel in a country like the United States, which is undergoing such rapid changes in population and enterprise, and especially in view of the fact that so many great works are now projected, and will no doubt be carried through, which must change the whole face of the map. I have, therefore, sought in the argument only to take the safe ground.

Nor in view of the experience of the past, can it be admitted for a moment that the road, though it may enter into competition with, will check the prosperity of, other existing roads? On the contrary, the developments of the future will leave abundant material for all, and they will operate as feeders to

* It has been stated by those familiar with roads through favorable regions, that the traffic both ways will reach 100 pounds on the average for each acre on a belt of thirty miles wide. This at \$5 per ton would be \$750,000 for the Knoxville road. Half that number of pounds would bring the freight earnings to nearly the \$400,000 required. Should the Nashville and Decatur road be extended to Montgomery, which is of vital consequence to Nashville, its connections will add still further to the interests of the Knoxville road.

each" other, mutually enjoying prosperity and wealth. There should be no rivalry, but only zealous emulation in such enterprises.

Let it be taken for granted, too, that the direct connection between Knoxville and Charleston will be secured, for which Cincinnati is also actively moving. It is an old dream of the people of Charleston, likely now to be realized. Mr. Trenholm said lately in his Report, referring to the Blue Ridge road—"Thirty-four miles have been built substantially and completely, and are now in operation; one hundred and sixty-four miles remain, of which a large part of the heaviest and most costly work has been done. Twenty miles of the grading south of Knoxville and the most difficult portion of the work required in bridging the Holston, have been completed."

I close this letter with the remark that such is known to be the importance of shortening lines of communication that the Central Pennsylvania Road instructed its Engineer to expend \$52,000 to save one mile, and \$4,000,000 to save seventy-two miles. The Engineer of the Memphis and Charleston Road reported that in seeking to be nearest to the air line he was but "following the irrefutable maxim that trade will always seek the shortest line."

XIII. ARE THE RAILROADS OF THE COUNTRY, IN THEMSELVES, PRODUCTIVE PROPERTY?

In the progress of the argument I have demonstrated the marvellous energy of railroads in building up cities, and in adding to the material wealth of a country; increasing manifold the value of lands, extending population and commerce, etc.; but have not paused to inquire if they are a tangible benefit to stockholders and shareholders, or if capital invested in them is in part or wholly lost, or is remunerative in comparison with other investments.

The object of the present paper is to show that such investments in themselves, and as mere money operations, are legitimate, and if properly considered, quite as productive as those which are made in other branches of business. Should this be made to appear, I may fearlessly address myself, I think, to the pockets of those who have annual savings, whether they are capitalists or not.

There is a very general opinion prevailing that the money to build railroads must be drawn from those who are directly benefited by them, and when others contribute it is looked upon as a very enlarged liberality and patriotism. Many, taking advantage of this view of the case, regard a railroad commissioner with open books as a person to be avoided by every available means. This is a grand mistake.

It is true that railroads frequently do not for a long time pay dividends, and why? They commence operations with heavy debt, which must be liquidated from their earnings, and which liquidation is in effect adding to the eventual value of the stock.

For example, the President of the Memphis and Charleston Road, in his report of 1859, says: "The total net earnings of the road since its opening in 1853, is equal to 56½ per cent on its capital, which amount has gone towards building and equipment, and is, therefore, a moneyed interest to the stockholders."

The Montgomery and West Point road was mainly built upon its earnings, and was before the war paying ten per cent. upon the capital stock.

The results of the Georgia State road are equally surprising. In 1860 it had in cash and cash assets nearly double the cost of the road, one-third of which was from surplus earnings. The whole debt was taken up by these earnings, which rose from \$71,567 net in 1848 to \$544,363 in 1858, and since 1849 the dividends have been upwards of 7 or 8 per cent.

The Charleston and Hamburg road, from June to December 1865, with incomplete road and inadequate and crippled running stock, earned expenses, paid half year's interest, and had a net income besides of \$196,985.

The Mobile and Ohio road, with the same embarrassments, and in about the same period, earned \$1,529,675, and expended \$699,898, leaving a net revenue of \$824,779.

A similar most gratifying result is shown by the New Orleans, Jackson and Great Northern road, which has not only, like the roads above mentioned, repaired its entire route, rebuilt costly bridges, and replaced most of the valuable running stock, independently of outside aid, but has from its earnings since the war a large surplus, and will very soon begin to protect its bondholders.

The Nashville and Chattanooga road, in the nine months ending June 30 last, was enabled, notwithstanding its condition and that of the country, to earn \$1,423,530, which left a net profit of \$412,751.

The Memphis and Charleston, by the last report, showed in earnings, since the surrender of the road, \$1,274,307, which, after all expenses were paid, ordinary and extraordinary, left on hand a surplus of \$624,142.

This is but the general experience of nearly all of our leading roads. They have not been sufficiently long in operation to have grappled with and disposed of debt, or completed their routes and connections, and have, besides, been interrupted by war. When all of this shall have ceased to operate, they indicate clearly by the results how handsomely the original stockholders will be repaid.

In reference to the Charleston and Hamburg road, it is said, on the highest authority, that after paying a dividend of 8½ per cent., it appropriated the balance of earnings, 6½ per cent., to the payment of its debt. The result was as follows: In fifteen years \$4,000,000 debt would, but for the war, have been paid off. Thus the subscribers of \$4,000,000 in fifteen years are the owners of a road worth \$8,000,000, besides receiving dividends in the meanwhile. All extensions made by the road are in reality property, and "the best species of real estate."

When a road upon an original subscription, which is frequently the case, of \$1,000,000 expends from its earnings as much or doubly as much more in construction, the stockholder, in the great appreciation of value of his property, may well be content to postpone the day of annual dividends.

Speaking of the Southwestern road of Georgia, Mr. Millnor in his report says:

"The company started from Macon in a southwesterly direction—they knew it seems not where, unless in search for cotton bolls. They got to a place and stop, and pass resolutions 'if the citizens of such counties just ahead will subscribe so much and pay it, they will extend their road to such a place.' In a week the stock is taken in the country, and the engineers start out; and so great is the value of the stock and bonds that old contractors often grade the road for stocks and bonds alone, and thus they have gone along from county to county, from plantation to plantation, declaring and paying regular semi-annual dividends of four per cent. in cash, besides investing as much more of surplus net earning in extension, until it has reached, and soon will cross, the Chattahoochee at Fort Gaines and Eufaula, and then, after absorbing south-east Alabama, will only stop because it has no more territory over which to extend itself. This road, like all the Georgia roads, had a small beginning, and of itself could not stand alone; but when, by the aid of Savannah, it was once firmly set on foot with each succeeding year, its power continued to increase, until, like a large descending ball, that quickens its pace as it continues to roll, it seems of late years that this wonderful company has only to 'will it,' and the extension goes on."

The example of all the Northern roads, with few exceptions, is even more striking than those of the South. Between 1856 and 1865 the Philadelphia and Pittsburgh increased its passengers from 1,198,927 to 4,174,093, and its earnings from \$4,720,124 to \$12,459,159. The railroads of New York increased between 1855 and 1864, 220 miles, but the business increased from 10,000,000 to 14,000,000 passengers, and from \$8,000,000 to \$14,000,000 in profits. In the same time the roads in Great Britain, on an increase of 4,509 miles, increased their passengers 111,000,000, and their profits about \$20,000,000. The amounts are prodigious. The roads of New York earned \$8,278 per mile, about half from passengers, which netted a clear profit on each mile of \$3,563—a fair dividend for stockholders.

The increase in the number of passengers on the South Carolina road was

from 37,770 in 1843, to 77,579 in 1847, which increase went steadily on. The business of the Memphis and Charleston rose from \$1,330,812 in 1859, to \$1,841,112 in 1861, more than half of which was in passengers.

The Michigan Central road increased its earnings from \$2,371,241 in 1862, to \$4,446,490 in 1866. The New York and New Haven from \$1,049,768 in 1860, to \$2,141,807 in 1865. The Philadelphia and Reading showed as follows:

	1843.	1864.
Passengers.....	56,554	1,048,501
Coal transported, tons.....	1,048,501	3,000,814

The coal transportation was three-fourths of the whole business in freights. Charge per ton 1859, \$1 15; cost of transporting, 42 cents per ton; 1865, charge \$2 79, cost, \$1 06. Besides other large investments, the Company has, in the last three years, expended \$5,000,000 upon new works.

The *Railroad Journal*, in one of its latest issues, furnishes a list of some twenty-five or thirty roads all over the country, which a few years ago were regarded as nearly worthless, their stocks having scarcely any value, but which are now in a prosperous condition, and paying dividends of from eight to twenty per cent. The fact may be ascertained at any time by a visit to Wall street, that the railroad stocks and bonds in every part of the Union have been and are still rising in value, the result of more experienced administration. Whatever depression existed was caused by extravagant and not unfrequently dishonest administration, an evil which has at length cured itself.

XIV. BUSINESS OF RAILROADS ALWAYS EXCEED THE CALCULATIONS OF THEIR PROJECTORS.

The proposition is laid down at large, and the individual cases of exception are unworthy of note.

The principle is found to operate in every period of the history of these great labor saving and labor creating machines, and the reason is obvious enough. Our calculations have a general reference to the business and transportation of the country, as it exists, when the road is projected, whereas the road becomes the creator of that which feeds and sustains it. The man who travels once is induced to travel ten times, and the goods which he is enabled to dispose of or consume, instead of being conveyed in trunks or in a few boxes, require now huge crates, hogsheads, and even cars.

It was once thought that railroads would not carry passengers, and Mr. Porter, in his *Progress of the British Empire*, mentions the fact that all the first roads constructed in that country were with the view to freight only. Half the persons, it was argued, who had taken the old stage road, between Liverpool and Manchester, would prefer the railroad, but experience showed that the increase was from 2,259, in 1831, when the work was in its infancy, to 535,388 passengers in 1845. It was found, he says, in every case that "the number of passengers quadrupled what existed before." Notwithstanding the vast increase of passenger traffic on the English roads, the freight traffic, which was at first less in value, was, in 1256, three times as valuable.

The freight traffic on the American roads has exhibited the same marvelous increase, as is shown by the quantities of merchandise which pass and repass between the Great West and Northwest and the Atlantic States, including coal, iron, salt and rock, the heaviest and least valuable material. These freights ascend and descend grades that at one time were regarded impracticable—arch over wide rivers, and penetrate and traverse huge tunnels under the solid earth.

Even cotton can be transported from North Alabama and Georgia through Nashville, and onward by railroad to the North, as cheap, and cheaper at times, than by river and ocean.

In referring to the general influences upon the country exerted by rail-

roads, in a former paper, it is stated that they frequently exceed the most sanguine expectations. Innumerable examples of it may be furnished. A patent one is that of the Mobile and Ohio, of which President Milton Brown said, in 1859, "the earnings of the Mobile end of the road have gone beyond the estimates made before its construction. These estimates were $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent of profit on the cost, whereas the net profit of this part of the road, after paying all expenses, was $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of the cost." The gross earnings, when the road was 20 miles in length, were \$22,459.

That a road running through a country so poor and unpromising as that which exists upon the first hundred miles of the one from Mobile should exceed the calculation made for it, and in point of fact produce handsome revenue, is one of the most conclusive arguments in favor of the productiveness of railroads. The same experience has been, in fact, realized in the poor piney wood regions of Louisiana and South Carolina, through which much of the length of their great railroads extend. The business of the Jackson road went up from \$277,008 in 1857, to \$1,278,620 in 1862, and was in November, 1865, with all its defects of stock and road, \$114,799. When this road was first talked of, Col. Tarpley made much to do about the chickens and the eggs, and the pine knots, that would employ its active energies.

XV.—THE VAST AMOUNTS OF CAPITAL INVESTED IN RAILROADS AN EVIDENCE OF THEIR PRODUCTIVENESS.

When a railroad is proposed to be constructed, ninety-nine in the hundred of the people from whom the means are to be drawn, looking upon the great array of figures which are piled up, and comprehending the vast amount of money which will be needed, are ready enough to pronounce it to be impracticable. It is submitted to every intelligent reader if this is not the common experience. There never is money enough in the country or within control to carry through any large enterprise, and yet the money in the end comes; comes from somewhere, it is often difficult to tell how, and the work is accomplished. What the multitude prove to be impossible, some two, three, or four persons (often a single individual), by their sagacity, their will and purpose boldly attack and carry through. "It is not an army that I want," said the old Napoleon when meditating a great enterprise, "it is a man!"

When it was proposed in New Orleans to build the road to Jackson and to Tennessee, a large capitalist, who subsequently became a leading promoter of the work, said in conversation, "we cannot furnish the means—the road besides is not wanted, the Mississippi is railroad enough for us," and another citizen, an old merchant and railroad man besides, chided the writer of these papers for his rhetorical exaggeration in a speech when he said, "that New Orleans would in less than five years contribute millions for railroads," which in fact she did.

In the interest of these movements I traveled through the States of Mississippi and Tennessee in 1851, in company at times with other gentlemen, and addressed the people at every cross road, town and village. There were no railroads among us at that time, and the sturdy farmers of the interior, who clustered together to hear us talk about them, evinced by their looks the incredulity of the King of Siam, when assured by the missionaries that in their country water would sometimes become hard enough to walk upon. They treated us with respect, which is natural at the South, but made merry enough when they got together, as we often heard, over our "iron horse" which was to go galloping over their hills and rivers, regarding it safer and wiser to rely upon the old-fashioned mule team and ox gear, and yet these very men, in time, voted their money and gave their lands, and to-day realize all the great advantages of having done so.

The remarks which were made will I hope reassure any nervous person who has ascertained that it is expected to raise, for the purpose of another road in Tennessee, in the next few years the grand amount of \$5,000,000—an amount, however, which is but a little over 1 per cent. in the dollar of

the property of the State, and but one-sixth of what was expended in Tennessee in the eight years which preceded the war.

The same nervous individual will be further assured by the figures which will now be furnished in illustration of railroad history and in evidence of the fact that they are sources of growing revenue to the country.

The sums expended in the past upon railroads, though realized in part from land holders and city property holders, from corporations and from State subscriptions, have, when the whole country is considered, been mainly contributed by capital, seeking the best and most profitable investments and without heart or interest beyond! If then shrewd, calculating and selfish men have been willing to put millions of their revenues and earnings into such adventures, rather than into bank, factories or other stocks, the demonstration is perfect that they are found to be paying and profitable investments.

It is scarcely thirty-five years since the first whistle of the locomotive was heard in America, a period so short as to be within the memory of even young men, and yet what has been the increase:

Year.	Miles.
1835.....	1,098
1840.....	2,818
1850.....	9,021
1855.....	18,379
1860.....	30,635
1865.....	33,909

These roads were divided among the several sections of the country, in 1860, as follows:

	Miles of Road.	Area of State.	Population.
New England States.....	3,659.8	65,038	3,135,283
Middle States.....	6,354.1	114,624	8,333,330
Western States.....	13,241.3	679,138	12,163,652
Southern States.....	7,356.9	613,995	7,159,002

Total including others..... 30,634.6 1,757,051 31,233,127

A more interesting exhibit will, however, be made when it is shown what proportion in each section the miles of railroad bear to area, population and wealth.

One mile of Railroad to

	Miles.	Pop.	Wealth.
N. E. States.....	17.9	857	\$509,276
Middle States.....	18.0	1,311	659,606
Western States.....	51.3	919	418,034
Southern States.....	83.4	973	583,220
Pacific.....	12,633.8	19,220	10,524,677
Total.....	57.3	1,019	\$526,126

Still more interesting will it be to give the figures in detail for the State of Tennessee.

Area of Tennessee miles.....	45,000
Population, 1860.....	1,109,801
Wealth, 1860.....	\$493,903,892
Miles Railroad.....	1,252.6
Miles Railroad to square miles.....	35.9
" " " Population.....	886
" " " Wealth.....	\$394,303

In proportion to territory, Tennessee has a less number of miles than the Middle and most of the New England States, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Virginia and North Carolina, and about the same as Georgia.

In proportion to *population*, she has, again, less than most of the New England States, less than Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, and Wisconsin, North Carolina and Georgia.

In proportion to *wealth*, less than New Hampshire, Vermont, Delaware, Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, North Carolina and Florida.

With as many roads to the square mile as Massachusetts, Tennessee would have over six thousand miles; with as many to population as Florida, about 2,500 miles, with as many to wealth as Vermont, about 2,000 miles.

The actual outlay upon roads up to 1866 was in

Kentucky,.....	\$21,062,000
Tennessee,.....	33,533,000
Missouri,.....	50,046,000
South Carolina,.....	22,053,000
Georgia,.....	29,389,000

The whole railroad investment of the United States rose from

1850.....	\$299,924,000
1860.....	1,145,079,000
1864.....	1,264,336,000

Therefore it may be assumed that at the present moment fifteen hundred millions of dollars have been the investments of the American people in railroads, a sum which is equal to nearly four times the value of the entire property of the State of Tennessee—real, personal and mixed. The Southern States have expended nearly three hundred millions, which is, by the way, only equal to a single cotton crop.

What the earnings of all these roads in passenger, freight and mail carriage, may be, we are uninformed; but the aggregate upon eighteen of the chief roads at the North was in 1865 about \$100,000,000. The New York roads earned gross \$8,000 per mile. Upon the average of half of this amount the total earnings of the country would be \$135,000,000. It more probably reaches \$150,000,000.

In Great Britain the figures are:

	Miles.	Passengers.	Receipts.
1848.....	5,127	57,965,070	£9,965,070
1855.....	8,280	118,595,155	21,507,599
1862.....	11,551	180,420,065	29,080,100

I close this letter, the last but one of the series, with the remark that he is indeed blind to what is happening all around, and ignorant of the true grit and manhood and energy of the Anglo-Saxon race of this continent, who conceives to-day, any more than he would have conceived ten years ago, that we are at the end, rather than in the meridian of this immense and growing power.

XVI.—CLOSING APPEAL.

And now, citizens, having talked myself as it were, out of breath, or rather out of figures, I reach at length a conclusion. The labor has been to a great extent, one of love, and if you have followed out the argument closely, which the vanity of a writer always takes for granted, it will appear that the subject demanded no less, and that each consecutive paper of the series bears upon and supports its main proposition, to wit: That we must build the railroad to Knoxville, which it is altogether in our power to do.

Figures may lie; they often do; but in this inventive age what will not? From an idiosyncrasy of mind, however, I am inclined to place as much dependence upon them as I do upon rhetoric or stump-speaking, which, in general, have the great advantage of auditory.

I visited your State for the first time a mere boy, climbing on horseback the mountains from Carolina. Reaching Greenville, in East Tennessee, I read

upon a sign board, "Andrew Johnson, Tailor." Presto, change—that man is President of the United States.

I came again, long after, sent by the city of New Orleans, to advocate a railroad which should connect the Crescent City with your capital, the revival of a scheme which was originated in 1837, and had slept for over twenty years—came by the slow and devious stage route, up hill and down, by Summerville and Jackson and Columbia; what memories linger of whole days of suffocating dust, of battered head and stiffened joints, of stifling air, and carefully jammed proportions—men, women, and children, twelve inches of space apiece.

Presto, change again—I am in Memphis this morning and take my supper at Nashville and retire quietly to bed, having not even been soiled by the adventure! Presto, finally, as I have lived to see the New Orleans scheme of twenty years revived and executed, and shall I not live to see (I have the faith to think it) Tennessee's ancient scheme accomplished of a central road, grappling together with bands of iron her extreme eastern and western frontier?

Let the politicians talk of reconstruction and of how to reconcile the jarring and hostile elements of the State, the magic power of the locomotive shall shame their efforts, and "waiting for the wagon;" the lion and the lamb keep very good peace between them. "Let me make the songs of a people," said a philosopher, "and you are welcome to make their laws." Let me lay out their railroads, would be as wise an aphorism.

Those who are at the head of this movement, as was said before, are in part well known to the people of the State as men of enterprise and wealth, and many others will before long enlist in the service. Engineers are to be sent out, and when their report is published the directors will come before the people with something tangible in their hands to demand the necessary aid. A prompt and generous response may certainly be relied upon.

The Legislature of the State, the Town Council of Nashville, and its property holders and merchants, the citizens and residents in all the counties to be traversed, will not be able, if they would, to evade the urgent and incessant demands which will be brought home to them by the promoters of this enterprise, who are, I feel very sure, as Carlyle expresses it, most "terribly in earnest."

They are in opposition to no other enterprise of the State, wholly or in part accomplished. Nowhere are railroads cannibals eating up each other. They thrive, like States and other communities, with, and not upon, each other. As wise the hand-loom weavers who broke to pieces the steam-frames, or the scribes who pounded up the printing-press, as the owners of existing railroads opening war upon new projections.

The appeal is to the country press, the thinking men and the speakers of the State, that they will examine the merits of this measure, take it up earnestly and bring it home to the attention of the people.

Citizens of Nashville, here is an enterprise opened which will double your commerce, your population and opulence. Convene in public meeting if necessary and discuss it. Listen to the arguments pro and con, and if convinced, liberally bring forth of your revenue, and instruct your councils to vote aid, should such be expedient. Invite the county to these deliberations and let us have, before the spring time opens, such a convention at Nashville of the friends of the Central route, as has not been surpassed in number or influence in the State.

People of Middle and Eastern Tennessee, God has joined your mountains and your plains. They reciprocally need each other. These mountains groan with mineral wealth. Like Sterne's starling, this wealth cries to come out. Your lands are shut off from population and market, and at times have scarcely a value. Would you duplicate and triplicate their value? Would you promote settlement and agriculture and manufactures? Build the road and it is done! No mendicant appeals to your charity. A king, an emperor, asks but a part of your revenues, asks but a part of your lands, asks that he may give, that he may increase indefinitely the value of your land and your revenues. He is a benefactor, and not a grinding despot.

Legislators of the State, you have been lavish in your past endowments to railroads. There may be need of you again. Though our general laws prove sufficient, there will be instances in which the power and encouragement of the State will avail much. The skillful general defends his capital by strengthening his outposts. The moneyed interests of other sections will come to your relief and will swell your own treasures, when you have poured them out. Hercules will help when the wagoner is at the wheel! You have still a mission, as much so as when in 1851 I addressed you, by invitation, as a delegate from New Orleans, and used the language which in closing I quote to-day:—

"Gentlemen, the spirit of improvement and of progress which has descended upon you, is sweeping down the valley of the Mississippi, and producing its wonderful results in all of the States to the southward of your limits. It is for you, legislators, the first to sit during this excitement of the public mind, to lead the way and direct the spirit of the times to immediate and practical results. Indicate your course of policy, and let it be a broad and liberal one; something worthy of a State like Tennessee; and believe me, when I say it, that Mississippi and Louisiana will unite upon the same platform with you, and that Alabama and Arkansas and Texas will respond to the extent of their means and capacities. These States are but in their infancy of progress and improvement, and are now looking to you to pave the way for a system which henceforward shall emphatically be known as the *Southwestern* system. With your resolutions and acts in their hands, the friends of improvement may walk boldly, and I believe triumphantly forth."

J. D. B. DeBow, President Tennessee and Pacific Railroad.

DEPARTMENT OF THE FREEDMEN.

LAWS OF THE SEVERAL SOUTHERN STATES, REGULATING THE STATUS, RIGHTS AND CONDITION OF THE FREEDMEN.

No. 2.—MISSISSIPPI.

CONSTITUTION, ART. VII, SEC. 1. "The institution of slavery having been destroyed in the State," "the Legislature shall provide by law for the protection of the freedmen."

ACT NOVEMBER 25, 1865.

SECTION 1. *Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi:* That all freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes may sue and be sued, implead and be impleaded, in all the courts of law and equity of this State, and may acquire personal property and choses in action, by descent or purchase, and may dispose of the same, in the same manner, and to the same extent that white persons may: Provided that the provisions of this section shall not be so construed as to allow any freedman, free negro or mulatto, to rent or lease any lands or tenements, except in incorporated towns or cities in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same.

SEC. 2. *Be it further enacted,* That all freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes may intermarry with each other, in the same manner and under the same regulations that are provided by law for white persons; Provided, that the clerk of probate shall keep separate records of the same.

SEC. 3. *Be it further enacted,* That all freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes, who do now and have heretofore lived and cohabited together as husband and wife, shall be taken and held in law as legally married, and the issue shall be taken and held as legitimate for all purposes. That it shall not be lawful for any freedman, free negro or mulatto to intermarry with any white person; nor for any white person to intermarry with any freedman, free negro or mulatto; and any person who shall so intermarry shall be deemed guilty of felony, and on conviction thereof, shall be confined in the State penitentiary for life; and those shall be deemed freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes who are of pure negro blood, and those descended from a negro to the third generation inclusive, though one ancestor of each generation may have been a white person.

SEC. 4. *Be it further enacted,* That in addition to cases in which freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes are now by law competent witnesses, freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes shall be competent in civil cases when a party or parties to the suit, either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants, also in cases where freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes is or are either plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants, and a white person or white persons is or are the opposing party or parties, plaintiff or plaintiffs, defendant or defendants. They shall also

be competent witnesses in all criminal prosecutions where the crime charged is alleged to have been committed by a white person upon or against the person or property of a freedman, free negro or mulatto: Provided that in all cases said witnesses shall be examined in open court on the stand, except, however, they may be examined before the grand jury, and shall in all cases be subject to the rules and tests of the common law as to competency and credibility.

Sec. 5. Be it further enacted, That every freedman, free negro and mulatto, shall, on the second Monday of January, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-six, and annually thereafter, have a lawful home or employment, and shall have written evidence thereof, as follows, to wit: if living in any incorporated city, town or village, a license from the mayor thereof; and if living outside of any incorporated city, town or village, from the member of the board of police of his beat, authorizing him or her to do irregular and job work, or a written contract, as provided in section sixth of this act, which licenses may be revoked for cause, at any time, by the authority granting the same.

Sec. 6. Be it further enacted, That all contracts for labor made with freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes, for a longer period than one month, shall be in writing and in duplicate, attested and read to said freedman, free negro or mulatto, by a beat, city or county officer, or two disinterested white persons of the county in which the labor is to be performed, of which each party shall have one; and said contracts shall be taken and held as entire contracts, and if the laborer shall quit the service of the employer, before the expiration of his term of service, without good cause, he shall forfeit his wages for that year, up to the time of quitting.

Sec. 7. Be it further enacted, That every civil officer shall, and every person may arrest and carry back to his or her legal employer any freedman, free negro or mulatto, who shall have quit the service of his or her employer, before the expiration of his or her term of service without good cause, and said officer and person shall be entitled to receive for arresting and carrying back every deserting employee aforesaid, the sum of five dollars, and ten cents per mile from the place of arrest to the place of delivery, and the same shall be paid by the employer, and held as a set-off for so much against the wages of said deserting employee: Provided that said arrested party after being so returned may appeal to a justice of the peace or member of the board of police of the county, who on notice to the alleged employer, shall try summarily whether said appellant is legally employed by the alleged employer and has good cause to quit said employer; either party shall have the right of appeal to the county court, pending which the alleged deserter shall be remanded to the alleged employer, or otherwise disposed of as shall be right and just, and the decision of the county court shall be final.

Sec. 8. Be it further enacted, That upon affidavit made by the employer of any freedman, free negro or mulatto, or other credible person before any justice of the peace or member of the board of police, that any freedman, free negro or mulatto, legally employed by said employer, has illegally deserted said employment, such justice of the peace or member of the board of police, shall issue his warrant or warrants, returnable before himself, or other such officer, directed to any sheriff, constable or special deputy, commanding him to arrest said deserter and return him or her to said employer, and the like proceeding shall be had as provided in the preceding section; and it shall be lawful for any officer to whom such warrant shall be directed, to execute said warrant in any county of this State, and that said warrant may be transmitted without endorsement to any like officer of another county, to be executed and returned as aforesaid, and the said employer shall pay the cost of said warrants and arrest and return, which shall be set off for so much against the wages of said deserter.

Sec. 9. Be it further enacted, That if any person shall persuade or attempt to persuade, entice or cause any freedman, free negro or mulatto, to desert from the legal employment of any person, before the expiration of his or her term of service, or shall knowingly employ any such deserting freedman, free negro or mulatto, or shall knowingly give or sell to any such deserting freedman, free negro or mulatto, any food, raiment, or other thing, he or she shall be guilty of a misdemeanor, and upon conviction, shall be fined not less than twenty-five dollars and not more than two hundred dollars and the costs, and if said fine and costs shall not be immediately paid, the court shall sentence said convict to not exceeding two months' imprisonment in the county jail, and he or she shall moreover be liable to the party injured in damages: Provided, if any person shall, or shall attempt to persuade, entice, or cause any freedman, free negro or mulatto, to desert from any legal employment of any person, with the view to employ said freedman, free negro or mulatto, without the limits of this State, such person, on conviction, shall be fined not less than fifty dollars and not more than five hundred dollars and costs, and if said fine and costs shall not be immediately paid, the court shall sentence said convict to not exceeding six months' imprisonment in the county jail.

Sec. 10. Be it further enacted, That it shall be lawful for any freedman, free negro or mulatto, to charge any white person, freedman, free negro or mulatto, by affidavit, with any criminal offence against his or her person or property, and upon such affidavit the proper process shall be issued and executed as if said affidavit was made by a white person; and it shall be lawful for any freedman, free negro or mulatto, in any action, suit or controversy pending, or about to be instituted, in any court of law or equity of this State, to make all needful and lawful affidavits, as shall be necessary for the institution, prosecution, or defence of such suit or controversy.

Sec. 11. Be it further enacted, That the penal laws of this State, in all cases not otherwise specially provided for, shall apply and extend to all freedmen, free negroes, and mulattoes.

Act Nov. 22, 1865, authorizes probate court of each county to bind out orphans under eighteen, whose parents are unwilling or unable to support them; and in said apprenticing shall consult the interests of the minor, and prefer the former owner if practicable. The party shall execute bond to furnish said minor properly with food, clothing, medical attendance, to teach him to read

and write, etc. Term of apprenticeship until eighteen years of age for females, and twenty-one years for males.

The master or mistress shall have the right to inflict moderate chastisement on apprentices, as in case of a father or guardian and child, etc.

The act makes ample but liberal and just provision for cases of running away of apprentices, and their recapture, and imposes penalties for enticing them away. The court will investigate all cases affecting the interests of apprentices, will reapprentice them in certain cases, etc.

The father or mother may always apprentice the child.

THE VAGRANT ACT NOV. 29, 1865, includes all classes under its definition. Section 2 reads:

SEC. 2. Be it further enacted, That all freedmen, free negroes and mulattoes in this State, over the age of eighteen years, found on the second Monday in January, 1866, or thereafter, with no lawful employment or business, or found unlawfully assembling themselves together either in the day or night time, and all white persons so assembling with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes, or usually associating with freedmen, free negroes or mulattoes on terms of equality, or living in adultery or fornication with a freedwoman, free negro, or mulatto, shall be deemed vagrants, and on conviction thereof, shall be fined in the sum of not exceeding, in the case of a freedman, free negro or mulatto, fifty dollars, and a white man two hundred dollars, and imprisoned at the discretion of the court, the free negro not exceeding ten days, and the white man not exceeding six months.

The other sections provide a mode of trying who are vagrants by the regular magistrates of the State, etc. The sheriff may hire out freedmen for the shortest period of service which will pay the vagrancy fine, and if he cannot be hired out he may then be dealt with as a pauper.

Section 6 imposes a tax which shall not exceed one dollar annually on all freedmen between the ages of eighteen and sixty, as a "Freedman's Pauper Fund," to be expended by the commissioners of the poor—said tax to be levied by the Board of County Police.

Section 8 provides a mode of enforcing the tax by hiring out the delinquent freedman.

THE ACT OF DEC. 2, 1865, is in terms as follows:

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Mississippi, That in every case where any white person has been arrested and brought to trial, by virtue of the provisions of the tenth section of the above recited act, in any court in this State, upon sufficient proof being made to the court or jury, upon the trial before said court, that any freedman, free negro or mulatto, has falsely and maliciously caused the arrest and trial of said white person or persons, the court shall render up a judgment against said freedman, free negro or mulatto, for all costs of the case, and impose a fine not to exceed fifty dollars, and imprisonment in the county jail not to exceed twenty days; and for a failure of said freedman, free negro or mulatto to pay, or cause to be paid, all costs, fines, and jail fees, the sheriff of the county is hereby authorized and required, after giving ten days' public notice, to proceed to hire out, at public outcry, at the court-house of the county, said freedman, free negro or mulatto, for the shortest time to raise the amount necessary to discharge said freedman, free negro or mulatto, from all costs, fines and jail fees aforesaid.

MISCELLANY.

1.—THE RICE CROP.

The New Orleans *Prices Current* gives the quantity of Louisiana-grown rice shipped from New Orleans as 22,693 sacks in 1865-66 against 30,518 in 1862-63. The rice crop of the parish of New Orleans was, in 1853, 27,050 barrels, and in 1865 40,000 barrels. The barrels are about one-third to one-half the weight of those of Carolina. The following will show the advantages of rice and cotton growing in Georgia:

Cost and profit of cultivating rice and cotton in Georgia. Wages of prime men valued at \$10 per month, and prime women at \$7 per month, for one year. Corn valued at 75 cents per bushel, and bacon 15 cents per lb....

Rice cultivation, 5 men and 5 women for 100 acres of land.

Expense—		
200 bushels seed rice, at \$2 per bushel.....	\$400	
Wages of 5 men at \$10 per month.....	600	
“ 5 women, at \$7 per month.....	420	
150 bushels of corn, for food, at 75 cents per bushel.....	112	
156 lbs. bacon (3 lbs. each per week), at 15 cts. per lb.....	234	
Hire of mules, \$5 per	90	
Provender for 5 mules.....	375	
5 plows, etc., \$40. 2 carts, etc., \$60.....	100	
Hoes, axes, and extra expenses.....	100	\$2,431
Product of 100 acres (50 bushels per acre), 5,000 bushels, at \$2 per bushel.....		10,000
Net profits from 100 acres, rice cultivation ...		\$7,569

Short staple, or upland cotton cultivation and corn.

5 men and 5 women, for 100 acres cotton and 150 acres corn.

Expense—		
Wages of 5 men and 5 women.....	1,020	
150 bushels of corn, and 1,560 lbs. bacon.....	346	
Hire of 5 mules, \$90. Provender, \$375.....	465	
5 plows, \$40. 2 carts, \$60. 1 wagon, \$100. Hoes, etc., \$100....	300	2,131
Product—Cotton, 25,000 lbs. (250 lbs. per acre), at 40 cts., \$10,000; and 3,000 bushels of corn, at 50 cts., \$1500....		11,500
Net profits from 100 acres cotton and 150 acres corn		\$9,369

Long staple, or Sea Island cotton cultivation and corn.

8 men and 8 women for 100 acres cotton and 250 acres corn.

Expenses—		
Wages of 8 men and 8 women.....	1,630	
240 bushels corn and 2,496 lbs. bacon.....	555	
Hire of 6 mules, \$108. Provender, \$450.....	558	
6 plows, \$48. 2 carts, etc., \$60. 1 wagon, \$100. Hoes, etc., \$100	308	3,051
Product—Cotton, 15,000 lbs. (150 lbs. per acre), at \$1, \$15,000; 3,750 bushels of corn, at 50 cts., \$1875.....		16,875
Net profits from 100 acres cotton and 250 acres corn		\$13,824

2.—THE FIELD FOR SOUTHERN MANUFACTURES.

An enterprising citizen of Mississippi contributes to the *Memphis Bulletin* some interesting news upon this subject, of which he sends us a copy. He says:

“The capital which was heretofore used in the purchase of land and negroes for the purpose of raising cheap cotton, will be employed, much of it, at least, in the manufacture of the raw material.

“Suppose the growing cotton crop should be 1,500,000 bales. This, at thirty cents a pound, or one hundred and fifty dollars a bale, would bring two hundred and twenty-five millions of dollars. Now, if one-third or one-half of this should be used in increasing manufacturing establishments in the South, it would not be many years before we would manufacture all the cotton we could raise, and thus reap the profits arising from its manufacture, which have enriched New England and built up the great cities of the North.

“There is no reason why every pound of cotton raised in the South may not be manufactured in the South, and this leads to the next inquiry:

“Can we manufacture in the South as cheaply as it can be done elsewhere?—We may have to pay more for labor here than they do in Old or New England, but we can get the raw material cheaper, we can get cheaper food, fuel and house

rent for our operatives, and this will more than counterbalance the high price of labor. It is contended by some of our most practical men that taking these things into consideration we can manufacture here cheaper than in any other part of the world.

"Our mountains are full of coal and iron, and our forests abound with the finest timber, and we have immense water power that we can use the whole year, and which is not injured by the freezes so common in high northern latitudes. The best and surest protections we can have against high tariffs and high taxes on our cotton, will be to become the manufacturers of the cotton which we raise.

"Can we get the necessary labor?—*The healthfulness of the Southern climate for white laborers.*—Can we get the necessary labor, skilled labor, to enable us to engage very extensively in manufacturing? I answer unhesitatingly, yes.

"Capital will bring labor. We can offer the laborers of the Northern States, or of Great Britain, or of the continent, such inducements in the way of wages, good and comfortable living, as will induce as many of them to come as we will need.

"Dr. Nott, of Mobile, in an able article, recently written, says that many portions of the South are as favorable to the health of white laborers in the cotton fields as any country. However it may be as to the health of white laborers in cotton and sugar fields, exposed to the hot sun and morning dews in the fall season—and I confess I am inclined to think that the negro, free as he is, is better suited as a field laborer in the South than the white man can ever be—yet there can be no doubt that white men, women and children in many portions of the South can be as healthy in factories as the operatives in similar establishments in any part of the world. They can have better food, better clothes, better homes and cheaper, and in fact everything in more abundance than anywhere else.

"*The advantage and necessity of diversifying our labor.*—By investing a large portion of our capital in manufacturing establishments we will gain a large population of industrious workers who will be the consumers of such articles of food as we can and ought to raise in the South in great abundance. It is probable that for many years thousands and millions of acres of rich lands in the South will not be cultivated for the want of the necessary field labor, such as is required on cotton and sugar plantations. It requires a different kind of labor to cultivate cotton and sugar from that which is required in factories or machine-shops. I do not believe the white laborer will ever raise cotton or sugar in great abundance, and if the negro population continues to decrease as it has done, and is doing, the amount of land cultivated in cotton and sugar will decrease every year.

"What, then, will we do with these lands? Plant them in corn or grain, or convert them into pastures to raise cattle?

"As fine cattle can be raised in Tennessee and Mississippi, to say nothing of the magnificent prairies of Texas, as can be grown anywhere. We cannot only raise all the cotton we need, but we can raise sheep enough to furnish us wool for all the factories we can establish. In a word, we have among ourselves, and at our very doors, all the elements necessary to constitute us a great manufacturing and commercial, as well as agricultural people. The people of the North may yet regret that slavery was ever abolished, and a constitutional amendment guaranteeing the payment of the war debt may be more needed in the North in the future than in the South.

"Years ago, in 1850, I expressed the opinion, in an article then published, that the establishment of factories, the building of railroads, and the development of our mineral resources, would do more to make us truly independent, and to secure our rights, than all the Southern Congresses which could ever meet. We need a change in our policy more than we do a change of the Constitution to afford additional guarantees to the South. Subsequent events have confirmed the opinions then expressed.

"I could give additional facts and figures to show the great profits arising from manufacturing, but I do not deem it necessary. I refer any one who has any

doubts on this subject to the conclusive argument of General James, of Rhode, published in the May number of *De Bow's Review*, 1866, and also to some very able and interesting articles now being published in the *Southern Sentinel*, Columbus, Miss., and written by Murdock, one of the most intelligent, successful and energetic business men of that place, who has for many years been engaged in manufacturing. There is great danger that the Southern people will give way to despondency on account of the great losses, or that they will do as they have heretofore done, invest all their means and exert all their energies in cultivating cotton, whilst others reap the fruit of their labor. Let them be wise in time. I have purposely refrained from using any political arguments in favor of the policy which I have been advocating, because I think we pay too much attention to politics, and too little to the improvement of our country, and because I did not wish to revive any political feelings."

3.—EUROPEAN AND NORTHERN EMIGRANTS AT THE SOUTH.

A friend in Mississippi writes as follows upon the subject of immigration to the South and expresses, as we believe, the true sentiments of the people: "Whilst we thus differ, yet there is entire security for any Northern man who wishes to settle in the South, whether as a planter, manufacturer, or day laborer. The treatment which any man who comes to the South will receive at the hands of the people will depend upon his own conduct. If he will be kind to the people they will reciprocate his kindness, but if he comes as a spy, as an intermeddler, as a stirrer-up of strife, he then will command no respect from them. Any Northern man or European who comes to the South with legitimate purposes, will find the Southern people generous, tender-hearted, disposed to encourage, not merely the introduction of capital, but also the sentiment of capitalists among them. Whenever any man, no matter where he was born, settles in the South, becomes identified in interests with her people, and in fact becomes one of them, he will be kindly received. But we Southern people have very little respect for these needy adventurers, who come South to swindle the negroes by selling them pinchbeck jewelry, and depriving them of their hard and honest earnings. We do not like a system of absenteeism. We want the men who expect and desire to make profits out of the producers of the Southern soil to come and live among us, share our burdens as well as enjoy our profits. Those who assert that Northern men are unsafe in the South, state what is not true, and what every intelligent Southerner knows, and every intelligent Northern man ought to know, not to be true. The people of the Northern States have qualities that we respect and admire, to wit: their energy, enterprise and perseverance. They are, in general, public-spirited, and help very much to improve a country. That they have grown rich off the products of Southern slave labor is not their fault, but was caused by our failure to appreciate our advantages, and our unwillingness to improve them. Not only an infusion of Northern capital into the South, but also an infusion of Northern energy, enterprise and sagacity to understand their interests, would be beneficial. A few years will show, I think, that it is the interest of the enterprising capitalists and laborers, not only from the Northern States, but from Europe, to make the South their home. She possesses all the elements of wealth, and only needs development to become the richest and most prosperous country on the globe. The healthfulness of the climate is attested by all who have examined the subject dispassionately. The South has undeveloped wealth in untold abundance. She needs and desires capital, labor and enterprise to develop this wealth. She is not so unwise as to reject it, because it comes from the Northern States, and those who make this assertion show a great want of knowledge of human nature. The sooner the Northern people find out the falsity of the charge the better for both sections.

DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE.

1.—DESTINATION OF THE COTTON AND TOBACCO EXPORTS FROM NEW ORLEANS.

Whither Exported.	Cotton—Bales.						Tobacco—Hhds.	
	1865-66	1864-65	1863-64	1862-63	1861-62	1860-61	1855-63	1850-61
Liverpool.....	358878	21826	1155	2070	1812	1074131	1509	1430
London.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	153	.....	3017
Glasgow, Greenock, etc....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	82767	.....	.....
Cowes, Falmouth, etc....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10034	.....	3011
Queenstown, Cork, etc....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	42263	.....	.....
Havre.....	138744	2052	4023	1849	472	284938	.....	8179
Bordeaux.....	766	.....	.....	.....	.....	3704	.....	828
Marseilles.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	233	839	1037
Nantes, Cette, and Rouen...	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Amsterdam.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3411	.....	.....
Rotterdam and Ghent....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	1700	.....	406
Bremen.....	8791	.....	.....	.....	.....	65073	1506	5084
Antwerp, etc.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	12843	.....	1067
Hamburg.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	5531	.....	20
Gottenburg and Stockholm	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	10426	.....	.....
Spain, Gibraltar, etc.....	16454	167	.....	872	21571	72471	753	9563
Mexico, etc.....	698	.....	145	.....	.....	6260	.....	.....
Genoa, Trieste, etc.....	290	.....	102	.....	.....	34613	31	7333
St. Petersburg, etc.....	1701	402	.....	.....	.....	23388	.....	.....
Other Foreign Ports.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
New York.....	154697	144190	103149	17859	4116	29332	2016	1969
Boston.....	81437	13933	12793	1413	109	94307	101	213
Providence, R. I.....	9083	2735	.....	40	.....	4897	.....	.....
Philadelphia.....	2005	1035	706	142	98	555	8	98
Baltimore.....	224	.....	.....	.....	.....	100	.....	.....
Portsmouth.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Other Coastwise Ports....	1879	231	.....	.....	.....	2481	12	23
Western States.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
Total.....	768543	192351	128130	23710	27678	1915852	6921	39806

RECAPITULATION.

Great Britain.....	358878	21826	1155	2070	1812	1159848	1509	7454
France.....	134519	5952	4023	1849	472	88925	839	4544
North of Europe.....	5422	402	.....	.....	.....	123042	1866	6577
S. Europe, Mexico, etc....	17378	167	307	872	21571	113358	870	18915
Coastwise.....	252355	164504	122645	19459	4923	132179	2187	2306
Total.....	768543	192351	128130	23750	27678	1915852	6921	39806

2.—COMMERCE OF MOBILE, 1858-1865.

Articles received.	1865-66.	1860-61.	1859-60.	1858-59.
Bagging, pieces.....	5357	29331	17272	32523
Bale Rope, coils.....	13634	13234	42950	45781
Bacon, hhds.....	8398	16200	20874	20656
Coffee, sacks.....	16041	25233	35167	37295
Corn, sacks.....	494196	430750	316199	117207
Flour, bbls.....	160789	109100	140961	85718
Hay, bales.....	63963	30167	42239	28228
Lard, kegs.....	12616	25711	24614	20136
Lime, bbls.....	12750	24875	47289	25324
Molasses, bbls.....	9573	33986	32282	34730
Oats, sacks.....	9350	68577	58429	40160
Potatoes, bbls.....	36483	27977	26549	27454
Pork, bbls.....	19689	31352	31092	26251
Rice, tierces.....	1792	3419	3985	3162
Salt, sacks.....	204330	161744	205591	150073
Sugar, hhds.....	5059	6963	10231	10589
Whiskey, bbls.....	10755	15026	35085	35877

3.—COTTON TRADE OF GALVESTON.

	This Year. Bales.	1860-61. Bales.
Stock on hand, 1st of Sept., 1865.....	13857	3168
Received at this port this week.....	182	4
Received at this port previously.....	152603	114683
Received at other ports.....	22200	30085
Total.....	188842	147940
Exported to—	Bales.	Bales.
Great Britain.....	59435	47229
France.....	1739	3640
Other Continental Ports.....	3014	12315
Mexico.....	120	1825
New Orleans.....	44375	31158
Mobile.....	....	....
Baltimore.....	207	....
Havanna.....	80	....
Philadelphia.....	....	113
New York.....	63267	25167
Boston.....	8094	25991
Cons'd by Rope Factory.....	....	50
	180331	147588
On hand and on shipboard, not cleared.....	8511	452

4.—RAPID GROWTH OF CINCINNATI.

The *Prices Current* of that city has just issued its regular annual statement. Thus it appears, in the grocery trade, which is understood to include sugar and coffee, our imports for the past year have been greater than those of any other city in the Union, with the exception of New York, and greater than those of St. Louis and Chicago combined, or even of Boston, Chicago, and New Orleans, and which are given as follows: Sugar, 42,400,000 pounds; coffee, 34,080,000 pounds.

Trade in other departments of business, during the past year, has also been unusually large; "the imports of general merchandise being 1,099,000 packages and 34,553 tons, against 916,100 packages and 40,568 tons the previous year; 38,398 packages of hardware the past, against 22,515 packages the previous year. Of crockery-ware the imports have been 6,029 packages or crates, against 4,031 the previous year."

The trade of but few commodities has perhaps increased more rapidly in this city than that of cotton. Ten years ago the imports of this staple did not exceed 19,000 bales, while the past year they amounted to 154,000. It is claimed from this report that our tobacco market, at the present time, not only surpasses all others in the West, but is the greatest original tobacco market in the country. The increase of this trade may be inferred from the fact that the imports of leaf tobacco were, ten years ago, 6,000 hogsheads and 200 bales, and in 1865 over 54,000 hogsheads and 7,000 bales.

"The increase in the dry goods and general merchandise trade has been quite remarkable. Ten years ago the imports of merchandise, chiefly dry goods, were 786,000 packages and 2,400 tons. Last year they were 1,092,000 packages and 34,500 tons."

In manufacturing, Cincinnati ranks the third city in the Union, and in the furniture department she probably excels any other city in the world.

5.—MEMPHIS AND ITS PROGRESS.

COMMERCE OF MEMPHIS.—The receipts of cotton at Memphis, for the year ending 31st of August, 1866, were:

By River.....	46,827 bales.
Charleston Railroad.....	48,279 "
Ohio Railroad.....	10,750 "
Mississippi Railroad.....	7,050 "
Total.....	117,903 bales.

In addition, there was a very heavy amount received by wagons. The aggregate number of bales which paid taxes at the Collector's Office was 172,215, of the weight of 79,723,361 pounds; 11,530 bales of Government cotton were also shipped from Memphis, paying no tax—making the whole receipts 183,368 bales. Stock, September 1, 10,831 bales. In 1861 the receipts were:

By Charleston Railroad.....	164,413 bales.
Ohio Railroad.....	52,316 "
Mississippi Railroad.....	58,303 "
Little Rock Railroad.....	3,784 "
River.....	67,378 "

Total, with wagons..... 369,633 bales.

During the corporate year commencing on the 1st of July, 1859, and ending on the 30th of June, 1860, the arrivals of steamers and flatboats, and the receipts therefrom, were as follows:

	Arrivals.	Collections.
Steamboats.....	2,338	\$34,149 34
Flatboats.....	226	5,465 20
Total.....	2,564	\$39,614 54
Receipts the previous year.....		27,035 70
Increase.....		\$12,578 84

The arrivals of steamers and flatboats, and the wharfage collections therefrom the past year (thirty-ninth corporate), were as follows:

Months.	Arrivals.	Collections.
July, 1865.....	197	\$2,612 00
August.....	185	3,061 65
September.....	215	3,744 20
October.....	219	3,893 95
November.....	331	4,774 65
December.....	266	5,766 75
January, 1866.....	247	4,565 00
February.....	379	5,193 75
March.....	421	6,054 30
April.....	257	3,395 25
May.....	203	3,344 00
June.....	185	3,807 55
Total.....	3,105	\$51,211 05
Total in 1859-60.....	2,564	34,149 34
Increase.....	541	\$17,061 71

When a permanent system of labor is established among the planters of the cotton-growing districts of Arkansas, Mississippi, North Alabama, and West Tennessee, the tide of traffic flowing into the lap of Memphis will be large and increasing. From those points the imports of cotton and produce, in 1860,

amounted to \$20,000,000; and the exports of dry goods, groceries, and hardware to the same places summed up \$10,000,000—making a yearly commerce of \$30,000,000.

The great quantity of cotton coming into Memphis keeps a number of boats employed shipping it to New Orleans; and such a supply of produce and manufactured articles as she requires causes several lines of first-class steamers to arrive at her wharves daily from Cincinnati, St. Louis, and Louisville, creating another tide of commerce of no small value or importance. What these tides will be when all her contemplated lines of railroads and their connections are completed—when she puts one foot, as it were, on the Pacific, and the other on the Atlantic, a living colossus, and stretches her arms northward to Maine, and southward to Mexico, a commercial giant—must fill every mind on the Bluff with the prospect of a golden future.

DEPARTMENT OF INDUSTRY AND ENTERPRISE.

"Commerce is the Golden Girdle of the Globe."

UNDER this heading we shall from time to time make elaborate or brief mention, as circumstances may warrant, of the largest commercial or manufacturing establishments, institutions, etc., in the country North or South. Those of the North will be prepared by our New York assistant.

1. **BABBITT'S SOAP AND SALERATUS FACTORY.**—We had an opportunity lately of passing through this great establishment, which is one of the largest in the country. The space occupied by it seems incredible. Nine buildings of four and five stories, with a depth of from sixty to one hundred feet each, and most extensive machinery and steam-power are embraced. Mr. Babbitt laid the groundwork of this establishment some twenty years ago, making a very humble start in a single tenement. With untiring effort, enterprise, and personal supervision, in twenty-three years he has become one of the millionaires of New York. He is still an active and hard-working man. The manufacture of soap, an article so necessary, is always profitable. Soaps of all kinds find ready market everywhere, and though millions of pounds are poured out of the immense boilers daily, it is soon consumed. This mammoth house gives constant employment to over two hundred persons, and huge engines, and thousands of pounds of steam, keep its machinery in motion. Steam is conducted through the entire buildings by pipes, some of which cross the street and supply power to two opposite buildings. A boiler which is said to be the largest in the world, and which rises from the ground floor to the fifth story of one of the buildings, it is said will make at one

time 250 tons of the best soap, which at the present prices would bring \$52,000. Here is soap for the million in one turn of this monster pot. The grease, etc., is melted by the agency of pipes filled with steam, which run throughout the base and sides of the boiler. Mr. Babbitt is also an extensive manufacturer of saleratus, of which from fifteen to eighteen tons is turned out daily. In addition to this, another article universally used, "Chemical Yeast," is said to possess superior qualities, adding 20lbs. and more to a barrel of flour when made into bread. It is compounded of flour, water and common salt, does not foment, and is very easy of digestion. Mr. B. believes that bread made with his Yeast Powders will prevent dyspepsia. We are pleased to see that his custom is wide-spread in the South, and we are informed that he has upwards of 10,000 regular customers in the United States and foreign countries; which we do not doubt, seeing the number of wagons and carts, etc., continually loading and unloading, and the immense piles of boxes both inside and outside of the building, labelled soap, saleratus, yeast powders, sal soda, soap-powder, super-carbonate of soda, and concentrated potash, all of which articles are manufactured by him. With a man of his energy and enterprising spirit, there is no such word as "fail."

2. **BADGES.**—Our southern friends have not forgotten the copper badges of old, used by hired servants. The custom, dead at the South, is resurrected at the North. Badges are all the rage. Masonic, Odd Fellow, Musical, Soldiers, &c., &c. for every profession and trade. B. F. Heyward, 208 Broadway, New York, an extensive manufacturer, exhibited to us a few days since some thousands or more of these, and a variety of superfine Jewelry, which is sold at very

low prices. Any one wanting a Badge would do well to see Mr. Heyward.

3. **SPRING BEDS.**—A great luxury. The Tucker Manufacturing Company, 59 John Street, New York, sent us one for trial, and we cheerfully recommend it to our friends. The most inferior mattress laid over one of these beds, becomes comfortable and luxurious. They are very cheap, and can be transported without the least difficulty.

4. **NEW YORK,** everybody knows, is the great headquarters of humbugs—and Patent Medicines are considered as forming a great part in the category. There are some which, however, have merits. The well known and respectable firms of Brandreth and Tarrant have preparations deserving of universal sale. The Alcock's Porous Plaster of Brandreth, and the Seltzer's Aperient and Boyd's Ointment of Tarrant, are invaluable, and without offence to the regular practice, we respectfully recommend them.

5. **ANOTHER NEW PEN.**—"Babbitonians."—The manufacturer of these pens understands the wants of the public. We

have tried the pens and pronounce them excellent. In fact, we have never seen any that are superior. Babbitt, Crosby & Potter, 42 John Street, have laid on our desk a package containing at least 100 copies suitable for the use of schools, and perfect in their arrangement to instruct without a master in the art of penmanship. Teachers will find it to their advantage to patronize these manufacturers both in Copies and Pens.

6. **WILDER'S DRUG ESTABLISHMENT,** Louisville, Kentucky. Mr. Edward Wilder did a good deal for the Southern cause, and suffered a good deal on account of his advocacy of it in times that tried men's souls. He now conducts one of the largest Drug Stores in Louisville, and advertises in our pages a Southern Bitters, made from purest Bourbon Whiskey and other ingredients of the Materia Medica, most salutary in diseases. The Bitters have already acquired a high reputation, and should be adopted to the exclusion of much that is fabricated at the North, and which is but vile stuff. Mr. Wilder is determined to put a pure article into the hands of the people.

JOURNAL OF THE WAR.

REPRESENTING THE VIEWS AND OPINIONS WHICH OBTAINED, AND THE CONDITION OF THINGS WHICH EXISTED AT THE DATE OF EACH DAY'S ENTRY, IN THE CONFEDERATE STATES, OR IN PORTIONS OF THEM; THE ORIGINAL ENTRIES, WITH SUBSEQUENT NOTES,* BY THE EDITOR.—1862-3.

"Oh, who that shared them ever shall forget
Th' emotions of the spirit-rousing time?"

SCOTT'S LORD OF THE ISLES.

"Now Civil Wounds are stopped—Peace lives again."

RICHARD III., ACT V., SC. IV.

SELMA, ALABAMA, DECEMBER 23, 1862.—Reach here at 12 m., having been detained by fogs on the river. Near the landing pass three gun-boats and floating batteries, which are rapidly progressing, and which are to be iron clad and heavily mounted, and will give great assistance in the defences of the river. We have also heavy works at Choctaw Bluff and at other points, and Selma is regarded as a strong and comparatively secure point, even should Mobile fall, which is not regarded very probable. Extensive government workshops, foundries, etc., are being established here,

and the place is much crowded with refugees from different quarters. Many are here from Columbus, Miss., Memphis, Tennessee, and parts of Kentucky.

Nashville is being strengthened instead of evacuated. Federal army bill has passed Congress, appropriating \$720,000,000. Burnside reported officially that he was forced to withdraw, as our front could not be attacked without disaster.

WEDNESDAY.—Butler and his brother at New Orleans are charged with spoliation, and a quarrel is reported between him and Commander Farragut,

* It is conceived best to postpone the publication of our voluminous notes until the publication of the journal shall be completed, which will be during the year 1867.

enemy, to fiddle while Rome burns. Our girls are all at work for the soldiers, and have forgotten their small talk about frills, flounces, soirees and sweethearts! It will come again in good time, and they are content to wait.

Leave Selma, on the route to Jackson, Miss.

Seward's resignation has not been accepted. It was demanded by the Republicans, but the New York capitalists threaten to withhold support if he resigns. Great discord evidently prevails in the Cabinet, as in the councils and army of the North. They will reap the whirlwind soon!

The *Herald* says this is the darkest period in the history of the nation.

The *World* exclaims: "Alas for our country; given over, it would seem, to the most ignoble fate that ever befell a country wrecked by imbecility. The people have named a man to hold the helm of State for years whom we must abide as he is, and find in his drollery what solace we can."

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WEDNESDAY.—Butler and his brother at New Orleans are charged with spoliation, and a quarrel is reported between him and Commander Farragut, who denounces him in unmeasured terms.

President Davis has at last acted in

the matter of Mumford. "In view of this and other atrocities he pronounces Butler a felon, deserving capital punishment, and orders that he be treated, not as a public enemy, but as an outlaw and an enemy to mankind, and when captured that he be immediately executed, by hanging. No commissioned officers of the United States captured shall be released until Butler meets the punishment due to his crimes! All commissioned officers in Butler's command are to be considered robbers and criminals, deserving death, and when captured to be reserved for execution."

Seward has sent in his resignation to Lincoln.

Fremont is suggested as commander-in-chief, but if appointed the *Herald* says the leading States will withdraw their troops.

FRIDAY, 26TH.—Having slept at Uniontown, take the morning train for Jackson. This is a new route just opened, and will be of great importance in transporting troops and munitions, especially should the route by Mobile be interrupted by the fall of that city. The road is in good condition, and, though built rapidly by the planters, is substantial enough.

There is small-pox at Uniontown, and it begins to prevail in the cities and towns generally, being conveyed by the soldiers. It is a disease of the camps and of the war, and came to us, it is said, through the perfidy of the enemy in exchanging prisoners.

Cross the Tombigbee at Demopolis in a steamer. The cane-brake region of Alabama, through which we pass, is magnificent and fertile beyond measure. It is the home of refined and wealthy people, who devote great labor to their estates, and reside all the year upon them.

SATURDAY, 27TH.—Reach Jackson at 4 p. m. in a train so crowded with soldiers that it is nearly impossible to obtain a seat. They are partly Kirby Smith's division, 10,000 strong, who are ordered from Tennessee to relieve Mississippi.

The rumor that Van Dorn has taken Hollysprings is confirmed—it is said with 1,500 prisoners, having destroyed more than a million of dollars' worth of stores. As a cavalry leader, Van Dorn has scarcely a superior on the con-

tinent, though in other fields he has signally failed.

Confidently stated that the party of peace is rapidly gaining strength at the North; that Confederate bonds are worth 50 cents on the dollar in New York; that Greeley has come out for the recognition of the South, etc.

VALLANDIGHAM'S PEACE POLICY.

RICHMOND, December 26.—The resolution introduced by Vallandigham, in the Yankee Congress, on Monday last, declares that the House does earnestly desire that most speedy and effectual measures be taken for restoring peace in America, and that no time may be lost in proposing immediate cessation of hostilities, in order to the speedy and final settlement of the unhappy controversy which brought about this unnecessary and injurious civil war, by adequate security against the return of like calamities in time to come, and that the House desires to offer the most earnest assurances to the country that they will, in due time, cheerfully co-operate with the executive of the States for the restoration of the Union by such explicit and most solemn amendments and provisions of the Constitution as may be found necessary for securing the rights of the several States and sections within the Union under the Constitution.

SUNDAY.—The Yankees have landed at Louisiana, opposite Vicksburg, and taken possession of part of the railroad.

Telegram received to the effect that Van Dorn has taken Memphis, but it is scarcely credible.

MONDAY.—Memphis is not taken, but beleaguered and in danger. Believed that Bolivar and Jackson, Tennessee, have been captured by our forces.

Milroy is advancing upon the Valley of Virginia. Morgan has taken Tompkinsville, Kentucky, with a large number of prisoners.

Western Virginia has been admitted as a State of the Federal Union.

General Banks is said to be at Baton Rouge.

YANKEE DOINGS IN FREDERICKSBURG.—We had a conversation, yesterday, with a person who remained in Fredericksburg, in charge of some property, both on the occasion of the occupation last summer, and on the late occasion. He says that the Yankees were most awfully flogged on last Saturday, and that the slaughter was awful beyond conception. He says they must have lost at least twenty thousand men, and that this is not a mere random guess of a person unaccustomed to military estimates, is sustained by the opinion of an intelligent gentleman who had opportunities of knowing, and who likewise estimates the loss at fifteen to twenty thousand. He says that when he left the place, after the Yankees had gone, there were large numbers of dead lying unburied in the streets. He says they returned from the field in the wildest disorder. It

was found impossible to restrain them, if any attempt was made. All discipline, all subordination, was gone. They pillaged every house in the town, ransacking the whole from garret to cellar—smashing the windows, doors, and furniture of every description—and committing every possible species of outrage. They broke the chinaware, smashed the pianos, and annihilated the chairs, tables and bedsteads. They cut open the beds, emptied the contents in the street, and burned the bedsteads. They stole all the blankets, sheets, counterpanes, and everything they could use. They broke into the cellars and drank all the liquors they could find, so that the whole army became a drunken and furious mob. He thinks that not a single house in town escaped. This infernal carnival was held all throughout the night of Saturday, all day and all night Sunday, and until the evening of Monday. At that time, from some cause which he could not understand, they seemed to be very suddenly taken with a panic, and continued in a terrible state of alarm until the evacuation commenced. From the account of our informant we should infer that they were marching down to Port Royal. Such are the savages sent to teach us civilization.

TUESDAY.—President Davis left last night on his return to Richmond. His presence in Mississippi has done much to inspire and rouse the people. He addressed the Legislature at great length, and expressed the most determined purpose.

Had a conversation with the President in front of the State Capitol. He looks rather care-worn, and wears a broad-brimmed white hat, and is very simple and unostentatious in his manners. The soldiers worship him. Thousands of them are still passing through Jackson, to reinforce Vicksburg. Continued rain for the last 24 hours will alone be equivalent to 10,000 men. The Yankee advance will become almost impracticable, or, if once in our swamps, there may be another affair of the Chickahominy.

The news from Vicksburg is most gratifying.

CHICKASAW BAYOU, 1 o'clock, P. M., near Vicksburg.—We have just achieved a glorious victory. After an engagement of an hour and a half we drove back the enemy with terrible slaughter, capturing over four hundred prisoners, among them several officers and five stands of colors. The enemy advanced for the purpose of storming our works, about 8,000 strong, and were mowed down in the most terrible manner.

They sent a flag of truce that they might bury their dead, under the cover of which a number of them, properly our prisoners, escaped.

The fight is still going on to the left.

WEDNESDAY.—The enemy, hoping to flank us at Murfreesboro and cut off Chattanooga, are demonstrating in

force, and a battle is imminent at any moment. Our forces await them at Stewart's Creek, which is 10 miles from Murfreesboro.

Morgan is again committing havoc. He entered Glasgow, Kentucky, and tore up ten or fifteen miles of railroad. Floyd and Marshall are penetrating Kentucky from Pound Gap.

Another demonstration threatened upon Weldon.

A valuable cargo of government stores has entered one of our ports.

Lincoln will not consent to the admission of Western Virginia as a State.

Burnside confesses before a Committee of Congress that his army would not allow him to renew the battle of Fredericksburg!

A terrible railroad accident near Vicksburg, and many soldiers killed and wounded.

Republicans begin to talk about recognizing the Confederacy, but the *Herald* says another battle for Richmond will be had before going into winter-quarters.

It is said that Seward will only remain in the Cabinet if the Conservative policy be adopted and the Emancipation proclamation thrown overboard.

NORTHERN INTELLIGENCE—OPINIONS OF THE NEW YORK HERALD.

The latest *Herald* received, in an article on the state of the country, says: "The Government has expended over one thousand millions of money, and two hundred thousand loyal soldiers have been sacrificed. A bill providing for another thousand millions of public debt is now before Congress, and what are our profits? The answer is gloomy enough. We have fought bloody battles, but the heart of the rebellion remains untouched, and each succeeding effort to reach it has only resulted in disappointment, disaster and disgrace."

The *Herald* admits that the violent and fanciful course of the radicals have united all classes and parties in the South in resistance to the last extremity, and says that unless the North can inflict crushing blows on the rebellion during the next three months, Lincoln will have to meet the European allies of the South, or submit to peace on the basis of an independent Southern Confederacy.

The *Herald* adds: "The people are becoming sick of this desolating, costly and unpromising war."

The *Herald* puts forth a feeler as follows: "Let Governor Seymour throw out a proposition for a convention of the loyal States, and let the rebellious States be invited to make an honorable peace upon the platform of the United States Constitution."

THE BATTLE AT VICKSBURG.

The victory achieved on Monday by our

heroic troops is perhaps the most signal of the whole war. According to the most reliable accounts, the loss of the enemy was between four and five hundred killed and wounded, with over five hundred prisoners, while our loss did not exceed fifteen. If this is a foretaste, as we believe it is, of what the Yankees may expect in that locality, we have no cause for alarm.

Great credit is due the gallant Tennesseans who contributed so largely to those glorious results. The importance of the victory is hard to estimate. If our noble troops were determined to hold the Mississippi river before this battle and before reinforcements had arrived, what may we expect now? Inspired by a victory which scarcely has a parallel in the fruitful annals of the present war, and encouraged by heavy reinforcements, we have not a doubt but that the efforts of the enemy to take Vicksburg will be as disastrous as Burnside's advance upon Richmond.

It seems that General Francis P. Blair commanded the Federal expedition, and we congratulate him upon his fair prospects for the block.

THURSDAY, 1st JANUARY, 1863.—The New Year brought with it news of a great victory by Bragg's army near Murfreesboro, Tenn. A dispatch says that we have taken 4,000 prisoners and thirty pieces of cannon. The fight began on the 30th, mostly with artillery, but on the 31st became general. It is announced by a dispatch to General Joe Johnson, commanding this military district.

FRIDAY, 2ND JANUARY.—Confederates reported as threatening Columbus, Kentucky.

Our loss, at Fredericksburg is estimated to reach 3,000 in killed and wounded.

Morgan, Forrest, and other cavalry leaders are stated to be in the rear of Rosencrans, who is retreating from Bragg at Murfreesboro.

Cavalry raid upon East Tennessee. Governor Harris, of Tennessee, telegraphs:

MURFREESBORO, December 31.—We attacked the enemy in his position at 5 1/2 A. M., and the battle raged till 5 P. M. Our left wing drove the enemy's right back upon Stone river. Our advance was steady, but the resistance stubborn. We captured four batteries and about four thousand prisoners—among them three brigadier-generals. The loss is heavy on both sides—relative loss not known. General Rains, of Nashville, was killed. I. G. HARRIS.

SUCCESSFUL RAID IN VIRGINIA.

RICHMOND, December 31.—General Stuart, who crossed the Rappahannock some days ago, has been successful. Advances from Gordonsville state he destroyed the Yankee camps, three thousand strong, at Dumfries, and captured several wagon trains, with a large quantity of army and sutler's stores, destroying what he could not bring away, besides captur-

ing 160 to 200 prisoners. It is reported he captured two pieces of artillery. A portion of the prisoners have reached Gordonsville, and will be brought down in the morning. The expedition was, in all respects, successful. Stuart has done much toward damaging and demoralizing the enemy.

SATURDAY.—In the fight near Murfreesboro we captured several hundred wagons with army supplies, and two brigadier-generals. Four or five Federal generals reported killed, and their loss otherwise was very heavy.

The Abolition Governor of Missouri, obedient to his master at Washington, recommends gradual emancipation.

Gold 133 in New York.

Baton Rouge, La., re-occupied by the Federals.

Confederate war-steamer Florida has gone to sea from Mobile. The Alabama, Captain Semmes, captured the U. S. California steamer Ariel.

English papers look to a change of European policy in regard to the American question.

Morgan has taken Elizabethtown, Kentucky.

A violent storm of rain, which lasted nearly 24 hours, will render further operations by the enemy at Vicksburg impracticable.

VICKSBURG, December 2.—Skirmishing continued all day yesterday, without any important result.

No general engagement is expected until the arrival of Generals McClernand and Sherman with the balance of the Yankee army.

All are confident of our ability to hold Vicksburg against any force the Yankees may bring here.

VICKSBURG, December 2.—The enemy have all left Chickasaw Bayou, and are reported going on their transports to Snyder's Bluff, on the Yazoo river, where it is supposed they will make an attempt to storm our fortifications. Our forces are well advised of their movements.

VICKSBURG, December 2.—This morning our forces advanced against the enemy, who were erecting works on the lake, causing them to evacuate the place, leaving fifty stands of arms, nine prisoners, and all the implements they were using to cut the fortifications. Our forces now occupy the whole country bordering on the lake, the enemy having retreated to their transports and gone down the Yazoo.

President Davis' proclamation in regard to Butler at New Orleans is published. He charges him with the following high offences in addition to that of Mumford:

Peaceful and aged citizens, unresisting captives and non-combatants, have been confined at hard labor with balls and chains attached to their limbs, and are still so held in dungeons and fortresses. Others have been subjected to

a like degrading punishment for selling medicines to the sick soldiers of the Confederacy.

The soldiers of the United States have been invited and encouraged by general orders to insult and outrage the wives, the mothers and the sisters of our citizens.

Helpless women have been torn from their homes, and subjected to solitary confinement, some in fortresses and prisons, and one, especially, on an island of barren sand, under a tropical sun; have been fed with leathsome rations, that had been condemned as unfit for soldiers, and have been exposed to the vilest insults.

Prisoners of war who surrendered to the naval forces of the United States on agreement that they should be released on parole, have been seized and kept in close confinement.

Repeated pretexts have been sought or invented for plundering the inhabitants of the captured city by fines levied and exacted under threats of imprisoning recusants at hard labor with ball and chain.

The entire population of the city of New Orleans have been forced to elect between starvation, by the confiscation of all their property, and taking an oath against conscience to bear allegiance to the invaders of their country!

Egress from the city has been refused to those whose fortitude withstood the test, even to lone and aged women, and to helpless children; and after being ejected from their homes and robbed of their property, they have been left to starve in the streets or subsist on charity.

The slaves have been driven from the plantations in the neighborhood of New Orleans, till their owners would consent to share the crops with the Commanding General, his brother, Andrew J. Butler, and other officers; and when such consent had been extorted, the slaves have been restored to the plantations, and there compelled to work under the bayonets of guards of United States soldiers.

Where this partnership was refused, armed expeditions have been sent to the plantations to rob them of everything that was susceptible of removal, and even slaves, too aged or infirm for work, have, in spite of their entreaties, been forced from the homes provided by the owners and driven to wander helpless on the highway.

SUNDAY.—Asserted on the highest authority that the Yankee fleet and army in front and around Vicksburg have gone up the river and disappeared.

Another glorious success to our arms, and confusion worse confounded to our enemies. What will they do next?

MONDAY.—Street rumors, which are feared to be true, that Bragg is retreating from Murfreesboro. He telegraphed as follows to Charleston:

CHARLESTON, January 2.—**MURFREESBORO, January 1.**—To General Beauregard: The enemy has yielded his strong position, and is falling back. We occupy the whole field, and shall follow him. General Wheeler, with his cavalry, made a complete circuit of their army on the 30th and 31st of December. He captured and destroyed three hundred wagons

loaded with baggage and commissary stores, and took seven hundred prisoners. He is again behind them, and has captured an ordnance train. He secured to-day several thousand stand of small arms. The body of General Sill was left on the field, and three other generals are reported killed.

God has granted us a happy New Year.

(Signed)

BRAXTON BRAGG.

Enemy proposes to issue letters of marque again to our vessels.

Lord John Russell tells the British merchants to look to Confederate prize courts for indemnity, which is a virtual "recognition."

Our troops have destroyed nine Federal transports, with provisions, at Van Buren, Ark.

Reported that the gunboat Monitor foundered off Cape Hatteras, a few days since, with all on board, and that the Galena lost her entire armament. Report not credited, as it is only on the authority of "a reliable gentleman."

These vessels, with the Passaic and Montauk, were reported on their way to Wilmington. The Monitor was the boast of the whole North.

Northern dates of the 1st instant have been received by the *Enquirer*, stating that James Brooks made a speech in New York, on Tuesday, at a meeting at which resolutions were unanimously adopted requesting New Jersey, on account of her Revolutionary history and past associations, to invite all the States to meet in convention in Louisville in February. They also call upon New Jersey to ask permission of the President to allow her to send delegates to the States in rebellion, and unite with their representatives in this convention; and in the event the States in rebellion agree to be represented, they ask Lincoln to proclaim an armistice by land and sea for six months.

Brooks was enthusiastically applauded.

RICHMOND, January 3.—Two P. M., a dispatch to the Secretary of War, dated Vicksburg, 2d, says the enemy, finding all his efforts unavailing to make any inroads upon our position, has re-embarked, leaving a considerable quantity of intrenching tools and other property, and apparently has relinquished his designs upon Vicksburg.

(Signed)

J. C. PEMBERTON,

Lieutenant-General Comd'g.

RICHMOND, Jan. 2.—General Stuart returned from his recent raid New Year's eve.

In his rounds he visited Dumfries, then proceeded up the Potomac towards Alexandria. At Selectman's Ford on the Occoquan, he encountered a large force of the enemy's cavalry, whom he charged through the stream. They fled in confusion, leaving the road strewn with overcoats, caps, blankets, arms, etc. He burnt the Railroad bridge over Acotink Creek 10 miles from Alexandria, and destroyed the railroad at Anandale, 7 miles from Alexandria. He dashed into the enemy's camp, destroying stores and capturing prisoners. Here he telegraphed to Lincoln's Quartermaster that he had not furnished sufficient transportation for supplies he had taken. Between Fairfax and Vienna he encountered a large force of the

enemy, who used artillery against him; he retired. At Aldie he routed the enemy's cavalry, taking a number of prisoners, and proceeded thence to Warrenton. On his return he was accompanied by Gen. Fitz Hugh Lee, commanding the cavalry brigade.

Gen. Stuart was entirely successful, and captured and destroyed numerous stores, wagons, camp equipage, etc., besides capturing about 300 prisoners. His troops have supplied themselves with clothing, stores, arms, etc.

TUESDAY, 7th Jan.—After the victory of the first day, our army has met with a reverse and had to fall back from Murfreesboro. It is said that Breckinridge's division met with a terrible repulse.

Yankees have evacuated Island 10, on the Mississippi, alarmed by the approaches of Jeff. Thompson and the movements of Forrest near Columbus, Kentucky.

New York *Herald* admits that Stuart made the entire circuit of Burnside's army, and captured 2,500 prisoners.

Our forces are again advancing into Kentucky.

Federals represent their loss at near 30,000 at Murfreesboro.

Lincoln has issued, as he promised, his Emancipation proclamation. It excites contempt among us.

What we know from Murfreesboro is embraced in the following dispatches:

"To General Cooper: We retreated from Murfreesboro in perfect order. All our stores are saved. About 4,000 Federal prisoners, 5,000 stand of small arms and twenty-four cannon, brass and steel, have already been received here.

(Signed)

B. S. EWELL, A. A. G."

TULLAHOMA, January 5.—Being unable to dislodge the enemy from his intrenchments, and hearing of reinforcements to him, I withdrew from his front night before last. He has not followed. My cavalry are still in his front.

(Signed)

BRAXTON BRAGG.

WEDNESDAY.—Butler has reached Washington from New Orleans, and was received with complimentary demonstrations. It is said he will be made Secretary of War. Comment is unnecessary.

More indications of a movement by France in our affairs.

Burnside reported to be desirous of again crossing the Rappahannock, but Lincoln refuses consent. After all, he has signed the bill admitting Western Virginia as a State.

McClellan is again to be put in command and to "advance upon Richmond."

THURSDAY.—A gallant exploit reported for Texas—one of the most brilliant of the war—and we are, perhaps, again in possession of Galveston. It is thus announced by Gen. Magruder:

HEADQUARTERS, }

GALVESTON, TEXAS, JAN. 1, 1863. }

S. Cooper, Adjutant-General, C. S. A.:

This morning at three o'clock I attacked the

enemy's fleet and garrison at this place, and captured the latter, the steamer Harriet Lane two barges and a schooner of the former.

The rest, some four or five in number, escaped, ignominiously, under cover of a flag of truce.

I have about six hundred prisoners, and a large quantity of valuable stores, arms, etc.

The Harriet Lane is very little injured. She was carried by boarding from two high-pressure cotton steamers, manned by Texas cavalry and artillery.

The line of troops were gallantly commanded by Col. Thomas Green, of Sibley's brigade, and the ships and artillery by Major Leon Smith, to whose indomitable energy and heroic daring, the country is indebted for the successful execution of a plan which I had conceived for the destruction of the enemy's fleet. Col. Bagby, of Sibley's brigade, also commanded the volunteers from his regiment for the naval expedition, in which every officer and man won for himself imperishable renown.

I am, sir, very respectfully,

Your obedient servant,

J. BANKHEAD MAGRUDER,

Major-General Commanding Dpt. of Texas.

Bragg admits a loss of 9,000 at Murfreesboro, but states the enemy's loss at 15,000, to 20,000. Our reverse produces a very saddening effect, but we ought not to expect uninterrupted victory.

Value of gold falling at Richmond, and rising at New York.

French mediation growing more probable from the tenor of dispatches.

Morgan and Forrest have returned to Chattanooga, having paroled 3,000 prisoners.

The iron-clad monster, the Passaic, has reached South Carolina, in a very disabled condition. The enemy claims a glorious triumph at Murfreesboro, but admits immense losses.

FROM THE ATLANTIC COAST.

CHARLESTON, January 9.—A special courier from Kingston reports the enemy making immense preparations to advance. Reinforcements are daily arriving from Suffolk. The Yankees at Morehead City and Newbern number fifty thousand, under command of Foster. Butler is not there. A simultaneous attack will be made on Charleston, Wilmington, and Goldsboro, to prevent reinforcements leaving either. The enemy is now cooking marching rations.

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY.—Bragg estimates our wounded at Murfreesboro at 9,000, a fearful number in so small an army.

WINCHESTER, January 9.—Morgan's report of his expedition shows two thousand paroled prisoners, several hundred of the enemy killed and wounded, and an immense quantity of arms and property destroyed.

Forrest's report shows fifteen hundred prisoners, one thousand of the enemy killed and wounded, an immense quantity of arms, ammunition and stores destroyed, and his whole command splendidly equipped.

Our operations at Murfreesboro, including the capture of four thousand five hundred

prisoners, besides two thousand captured at Hartsville and around Nashville, sum up ten thousand in less than a month.

We also captured and sent to the rear thirty cannon, six thousand small arms, leaving two thousand in the hands of troops. One thousand wagons were destroyed and the mules and harness secured.

The enemy's killed and wounded is estimated at 20,000, including seven generals.

SUNDAY.—The telegraph is barren of news.

THE PAST YEAR.

[From the Richmond Examiner.]

At length the last day of a terrible year has come. Few persons now living can point to another period of their existence in which fortitude has been more severely tried. He who casts a retrospective glance upon the dangers all have risked, the privations and ruin many have suffered, the dear friends most have lost by violent death, will have reason to be grateful for the insensibility of his heart, if he is not oppressed by somber and painful emotions. While many hundred thousands accustomed to independence and comfort have been suddenly reduced to abject poverty and distress, those who have escaped must reflect that they have been nearer to utter destruction than they were ever before this year began, or are likely to be again when it is ended.

But this year is not without glorious consolations. The unaided strength and unbacked courage of the nation redeemed its fortunes from the dust, plucked up its drowning honor by the locks, and tore from the very jaws of death the right to live forever. History will hereafter show no page illuminated with more enduring glory than those which record the heroic events of the circle of months which end with this day. In these months of a forlorn republic, a people covered with the opprobrium and prejudice of the world, have secured a place in the Pantheon of remembered nations far above the most famous. Neither the story of Greece, or Rome, or France, or England can bear a fair parallel with our own brief but most eventful narrative. Is not this triumphant crown of victory worth the awful price? The question will be answered according to the temperament of the reader. Many think with Sir John that honor cannot cure a broken leg, and that all the national glory that has been won in battle since Greeks fought Trojans will not compensate the loss of a beef or a dollar. But the young, the brave, the generous will everywhere judge that the exercise and exhibition in this year of the noblest virtues has been more than worth the misfortunes which have marked its progress.

Sound the clarion, fill the life;
To a sensual world proclaim,
One crowded hour of glorious life
Is worth an age without a name!

MONDAY, 12TH JANUARY.—The Federal fleet, when last seen, was steaming up the Mississippi, above White River. God knows what they are after.

Butler has been thanked by a two-third vote in the Federal Congress!!!

GOV. SEYMOUR'S MESSAGE.

RICHMOND, January 10.—Gov. Seymour's message, published in the New York Herald of the 8th, says the war has taken more than

two hundred thousand men from the workshops and fields. Slavery was not the subject and cause of the war. We must look for the cause of the war in the prevailing disregard of the laws and Constitution. Our difficulties teach us that we must reform the people and the policy of the government. The rights of the States must be respected. A consolidated government would destroy the essential rights and liberties of the people. He denounces arbitrary arrests, the suppression of journalism, the spy system of the general government, and enjoins on sheriffs and civil officers that no person must be imprisoned, or carried from the State by force, without process and authority of law. The President held his office, not by the will of a majority, but by the Constitution which placed him in the office by a vote of one million eight hundred thousand, against two million eight hundred thousand. If the Constitution cannot keep the Executive within its restraints, he cannot retain the States in the Union. Those who hold that there is no sanctity in the Constitution must admit their guilt in the rebellion. He condemns the Emancipation proclamation as unjust and unconstitutional, and may be construed as an abandonment of the hope of restoring the Union. If the South must be held under military subjugation, the government must be converted into a military despotism. The opinion that the South must be subjugated weakened the hopes of the people.

The message urges that the Union is indissoluble, and factions North and South must be put down. So closely are the upper and lower valleys of the Mississippi bound together, that when the cotton was burned in Louisiana corn was used for fuel in Illinois. It seems Southern commerce bankrupts Northern produce. Neither in a Northern nor Southern Union can the conflicting interests of agriculture, commerce and manufacture be adjusted.

The body of General Rains, who fell so nobly at Murfreesboro, has been interred at Nashville. His was a noble spirit. He was young, handsome, and eloquent. His last words were, "Forward, my brave boys, forward!"

TUESDAY.—The Manchester, England, operatives address Lincoln, congratulatory on his emancipation scheme, and yet we have been looking to England for aid! The best of us have been deceived, and must now admit that Cotton is not "King."

The Yankees admit a great defeat at Vicksburg, and set down their losses at 5,000. Rosecrans has advanced ten miles beyond Murfreesboro, and has ordered Confederate officers, prisoners, to be confined until President Davis' recent order in regard to Butler is revoked.

Gold in New York 138.

WEDNESDAY.—Federals open their fire upon Fort Caswell, below Wilmington, but after five hours effect nothing.

General Banks is actively employed intrenching at Baton Rouge, having wholesome recollections of what occurred last summer at that point.

In North Mississippi the Federals have recrossed the Tallahatchie, having despoiled the fairest portions of Lafayette county, including Oxford.

SYNOPSIS OF PRESIDENT DAVIS' MESSAGE.

After reviewing the question of privateering, the President says that the records of our State departments contain the evidence of the repeated and formal remonstrances made by this government to the neutral powers of Europe, against the recognition of the blockade, which had been shown to have been broken hundreds of times, which the enemy and themselves had admitted to have been ineffectual in the most forcible manner, by repeated complaints of the sale to us of goods contraband of war, and which they acknowledged their inability to render effective. Still Europe had submitted, in almost unbroken silence, to all the wrongs the United States have chosen to inflict on their commerce, and the Cabinet of Great Britain admitted itself it had not conformed to the principles laid down by the Congress of Paris, but had made a change too important and prejudicial to the interests of the Confederacy to be overlooked, and consequently the President had solemnly protested, after a vain attempt to obtain any satisfactory explanation from the British government.

The fourth proposition of the Congress of Paris declared that the blockade must be maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy, but the British Secretary of State had construed the American blockade to be sufficient, because it was duly notified that a number of ships were stationed at different ports sufficient really to prevent access to it, or to create an evident danger of entering it, or leaving it; but the President had no complaint to make on the ground of a declaration of neutrality. The complaint was that the neutrality had been rather nominal than real, and that recognized neutral rights had been alternately asserted and waived in such manner as to bear with great severity on us, and to confer signal advantages on our enemy.

THURSDAY.—McClelland's non-arrival is said to have been the cause of the Yankees' abrupt departure from Vicksburg.

Norton, of Missouri, proposes in the Federal Congress an armistice of six months and a general convention.

The Governor of Kentucky protests against Lincoln's Emancipation proclamation.

FRIDAY, JANUARY 16.—Snow storm, and telegraphic communication cut.

The Cumberland and Tennessee are rising, which secures Nashville to the enemy, and so strengthens Rosecrans as to seriously damage our prospects in that quarter.

General Price, being on a visit to Jackson, is serenaded. He is a noble specimen of a man in every respect, and a popular hero.

LINCOLN'S EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.
WASHINGTON, January 1, 1863.

Now, therefore, I, Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue of the power in me invested as commander-in-chief of the army and navy, in time of actual armed rebellion against the authority of the Government of the United States, as a fit and necessary war measure, for suppressing said rebellion, do on this first day of January, in the year of our Lord 1863, and in accordance with my purpose so to do, publicly proclaim for the full period of one hundred days from the date of the first above mentioned order, and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people therefore respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit: Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, except the parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemine, Jefferson, St. John, St. Louis, Iberville, Ascension, Assumption, Terre Bonne, La Fourche, St. Mary's, St. Martin and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina and Virginia, except the forty-eight counties designated as Western Virginia, and also the six counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Princess Anne and Norfolk, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, which excepted parts are for the present left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued; and by virtue of the power and for the purpose aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within the designated States are and henceforward shall be free, and that the executive by government of the United States, including the military authorities there, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons; and I hereby enjoin upon the people so declared to be free to abstain from all violence, unless in necessary self-defence; and I recommend to them that in all cases when allowed, they labor for reasonable wages; and I further declare and make known that such persons of suitable condition will be received into the armed service of the United States, to garrison forts, positions, States and other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in said service, and upon this it is sincerely believed to be an act of justice warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity.

I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind and the gracious favor of Almighty God.

SATURDAY.—The enemy admits that Vicksburg is impregnable, and that they must operate from some other point.

Gold in New York 142.

Federal forces moving in great strength upon Kingston and Wilmington.

Another valuable arrival of arms and supplies from Nassau at Charleston, and many other steamers announced as ready to follow.

VOL. II.—NO. VI.

Secretary of Confederate Treasury reports the expenditures of last year, ending January 1, \$443,411,000—debt at that time, \$556,000,000, which includes 88 millions of bonds, 56 millions certificates of deposits, and \$392,000,000 currency and interest-bearing notes. What a luxury is war! What shall be done with this enormous and growing circulation? It is the king question for Congress. Where is the Necker who can grapple with these great financial questions, and bring harmony out of chaos? What is to be the end of this colossal accumulation of debt? Truly is liberty a pearl of great price.

THE PRESENT ABOLITION CONGRESS—ITS MADNESS AND FOLLY.

The New York *Herald* thinks that the present Abolition Congress is going to perdition. In reviewing its action since its meeting, the *Herald* says:

"Since the present Congress assembled, which is now over a month, its time has been occupied in fruitless and frivolous discussions. We have a Congress in this country which were its existence not cut short by the limitations of law on the fourth of March next, would rival in folly, fanaticism and despotic oppression its prototypes in England and France. There is one thing in which it materially differs from the Rump Parliament and the French Convention. These bodies were vigorous—the majority in Congress is utterly imbecile. The radicals exhibit the disposition to perpetrate all the crimes and follies of their predecessors in other countries, but they have neither the intellect, the genius, nor the courage to make them formidable after all.

All the rascality, the peculation, the fraud and fanaticism which have ever characterized former bodies of falsely called representative men, seem cumulated, piled up and aggravated in the present Abolition Congress. This is exhibited in the devotion of the radicals to the nigger and their determination to sacrifice the country and all its interests to the odoriferous woolly head. In political and financial frenzy they emulate the Jacobin Convention, and seem, like it, bent upon the ruin of the country by creating a quasi system of assignments and by every other species of wild extravagance and violent aspersions of better men. They may be most appropriately called the rump of a Congress; for their existence is defined, their acts are repudiated by the country, and a better set of men have already been elected in their stead, ready to take their place. It is indeed high time that this abolition Congress, composed of men, many of whom are fit only for the lunatic asylum, should be dethroned from their false position, and that their crimes and madness should be finally rebuked."

MONDAY.—Demonstration again upon the Rappahannock; but believed to cover designs upon North Carolina. The enemy have a very heavy force in that quarter.

TULSAHOMA, January 17.—General S. B. Buckner:—General Wheeler, with a portion of his cavalry brigade, after burning a railroad bridge in the enemy's rear, pushed for the Cumberland river, where he intercepted and captured four large transports. He destroyed them, with all the supplies, and bonded one to carry off the four hundred paroled prisoners. Being hotly pressed by a gunboat, he attacked, captured and destroyed her, with her armament.

BRAXTON BRAGG.

GENERAL BRAXTON BRAGG TO HIS ARMY.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF TENNESSEE,
WINCHESTER, January 8, 1863.

Soldiers of the Army of the Tennessee.—Your gallant deeds have won the admiration of your General, your Government and your country. For myself, I thank you, and am proud of you—for them, I tender you the gratitude and praise you have so nobly won.

In a campaign of less than one month, in the face of winter, your achievements have been unparalleled. You have captured more than ten thousand prisoners, taken and preserved thirty pieces of artillery and seven thousand small arms, in addition to many thousand destroyed. You have besides captured eight hundred wagons, loaded chiefly with supplies, which have been destroyed or brought safely to our lines; and in pitched battles you have driven the enemy before you, inflicting a loss at least three to one greater than you have sustained.

In retiring to a stronger position, without molestation from a superior force, you have left him a barren field in which to bury his hosts of slain, and to rally and recuperate his shattered ranks. Cut off from his Government both by railroad and telegraph, and deprived of supplies by the interruption of his communications, we shall yet teach him a severe lesson for the rashness of penetrating a country so hostile to his cause. While the infantry and artillery defy him in front, our invincible cavalry will assail him in flank and rear, until we goad him to another advance, only to meet another signal defeat.

Your General deplora, in common with you, the loss of your gallant comrades who have fallen in our recent conflicts. Let their memories be enshrined in your hearts, as they will ever be tenderly cherished by their countrymen. Let it be yours to avenge their fate and proudly emulate their deeds. Remember that your fate is to the foe, and that on you rests the defence of all that is dear to freemen.

Soldiers! the proudest reflection of your General's life is to be known as the commander of an army so brave and invincible as you have proven. He asks no higher boon than to lead each man to victory. To share their trials, and to stand or fall with them, will be the crown of his ambition.

BRAXTON BRAGG, Gen. Com'g.

ADDRESS TO THE ARMY.

HEADQUARTERS ARMY OF NORTHERN VA.,
December 31, 1862.

[General Orders, No. 133.]

The General commanding takes this occasion to express to the officers and soldiers of the army, his high appreciation of the fortitude, valor and devotion displayed by them, which, under the blessing of Almighty God, have added the victory of Fredericksburg to the long list of their triumphs.

An arduous march, performed with celerity under many disadvantages, exhibited the discipline and spirit of the troops, and their eagerness to confront the foe.

The immense army of the enemy completed its preparations for the attack without interruption, and gave battle in its own time, and on ground of its own selection.

It was encountered by less than thirty thousand of this brave army, and its columns, crushed and broken, hurried back at every point with such fearful slaughter, that escape from entire destruction became the boast of those who had advanced in full confidence of victory.

That this great result was achieved with a loss small in point of numbers, only augments the admiration with which the Commanding General regards the prowess of the troops and increases his gratitude to Him who hath given us the victory.

The war is not yet ended. The enemy is still numerous and strong, and the country demands of the army a renewal of its heroic efforts in her behalf. Nobly has it responded to her call in the past, and she will never appeal in vain to its courage and patriotism.

The signal manifestations of Divine mercy that have distinguished the eventful and glorious campaign of the year just closing, give assurance of hope that, under the guidance of the same Almighty hand, the coming year will be no less fruitful of events that will insure the safety, peace and happiness of our beloved country, and add new lustre to the already imperishable name of the Army of Northern Virginia. R. E. LEE, General.

TUESDAY.—Enemy have evacuated Holly Springs and leave us in possession of nearly the whole of North Mississippi. Our army is advancing. Confederate gunboat Alabama, or perhaps Florida, engages and sinks the U. S. war-steamer Hatteras near Galveston.

[Correspondence of New Orleans Delta.]

Of the first Galveston disaster you know all. The rebels occupy the city with a strong force of five thousand or seven thousand men. The city is well fortified with batteries all round.

On Sunday evening a strange sail appeared off the harbor. The gunboat Hatteras went in chase about 7 o'clock. A heavy fire was soon after heard, and the sloop-of-war Brooklyn and the gunboat Scioti started in pursuit. The firing ceased before these vessels reached the spot—some twenty miles from Galveston. At daylight next day Captain Lowry, of the Scioti, picked up a boat containing an officer and five men belonging to the Hatteras. They reported that, at 7 o'clock on Sunday evening, the Hatteras ranged up alongside of a steamer which looked like the Alabama; she was hailed by Captain Blake, and replied that "I am Her Britannic Majesty's steamer Spitfire." Captain Blake said: "Heave to—I will send a boat aboard of you." A boat was lowered—the one spoken of as having been picked up.

Just as this boat shoved off, the strange steamer opened a furious fire on the Hatteras. Both vessels then engaged in fierce combat—running ahead of the boat; but soon after—say about twenty minutes—the officer in the boat saw the Hatteras stop, evidently crippled; then there was loud cheering on board

the rebel steamer. The Brooklyn and Sciotia cruised all night, and next morning found the wreck of the Hatteras sunk in nine fathoms water. Some of her boats were picked up, which contained arms and bloody clothes. But the victor had disappeared. The Hatteras was a purchased iron vessel, sister to the steamer St. Mary. She was unfit for a man-of-war—having no powers of endurance. Her battery consisted of three small rifled guns and four short 32-pounders. The rebel had heavy guns—62-pounders, by the sound. (Opinions differ as to who she was. Some think she was from Mobile, and not the 290.

The rams and fortifications at Galveston are formidable.

WEDNESDAY, JAN. 21.—Northern news is brought of a dreadful disaster to our arms in Arkansas. Our post there on the river is reported to have surrendered, unconditionally, to the combined land and naval forces of the enemy. The information is feared to be true. Our force is represented at from 5,000 to 7,000. The enemy admits a severe loss on the Cumberland river.

REPORTS FROM MIDDLE TENNESSEE.—A dispatch in the *American*, from Nashville, dated the 16th, says that Forrest, of the Confederate Army, with four thousand men and twelve pieces of artillery, attacked the Federal relief and storeships coming up the Cumberland, and succeeded in capturing five steamboats laden with valuable commissary stores, and one gunboat. The boats were all burned.

THURSDAY.—Forrest's whole loss in killed, wounded and missing, in the affair at Parker's Cross Roads, Tenn., is now stated at only 200, despite of the exaggerations of the enemy.

Revolutionary movements are threatened in Indiana, and a Northwestern Confederacy is in agitation. State arms were in danger of being seized by the conspirators.

Lincoln orders Confederate officers in his hands to close confinement until Davis' orders in regard to Butler are revoked.

FRIDAY.—Federal fleet believed to be again preparing for the attack on Vicksburg and are landing troops.

The Republicans predict an early peace.

The negroes at Beaufort, S. C., refuse to take up arms for the Yankees, and the cotton crop in that quarter is admitted to be a failure.

Attack still looked for on the Rappahannock.

Morgan's men have made a bold dash into Murfreesboro, in sight of the enemies' camp, and captured 200 prisoners and 20 wagons.

BRILLIANT SUCCESS UPON THE CUMBERLAND.

TULLAHOMA, January 21.—To General S. Cooper:—After the capture of the transports and gunboat, our cavalry made a dash for a large fleet of transports just below Harpeth Shoals. They threw overboard their cargo of subsistence, ordnance and quartermaster stores, in immense quantities, and escaped by a hasty retreat. Our troops, in the midst of snow and ice, crossed to the north side of the Cumberland, by swimming their horses through the angry torrent, which was much swollen by recent rains, and routed the guard, captured and destroyed an immense collection of subsistence just loaded for transportation to Nashville by wagons. BRAXTON BRAGG.

President Davis' admirable message closes as follows:

"Our armies are larger, better disciplined and more thoroughly armed and equipped than at any previous period of the war. The energies of a whole nation, devoted to the object of success in this war, have accomplished marvels, and many of our trials have, by a beneficent Providence, been converted into blessings. The magnitude of the perils which we encountered have developed the qualities and illustrated the heroic character of our people, thus gaining for the Confederacy from its birth a just appreciation from the other nations of the earth. The injuries resulting from the interruption of foreign commerce have received compensation by the development of our internal resources. Cannon crown our fortresses that were cast from the products of mines opened and furnaces built during the war. Our mountain caves yield much of the nitre for the manufacture of powder, and promise increase of product. From our own foundries and laboratories, from our armories and workshops, we derive, in a great measure, the warlike material, the ordnance and ordnance stores which are expended so profusely in the numerous and desperate engagements that rapidly succeed each other. Cotton and woolen fabrics, shoes and harness, wagons and gun carriages are produced in daily increasing quantities, by the factories springing into existence. Our fields, no longer whitened by cotton that cannot be exported, are devoted to the production of cereals and the growth of stock formerly purchased with the proceeds of cotton. In the homes of our noble and devoted women, without whose sublime sacrifices our success would have been impossible, the noise of the loom and of the spinning-wheel may be heard throughout the land."

SATURDAY, JAN. 24.—Troops still passing through Jackson to reinforce Vicksburg.

The enemy are landing near that city and threaten another effort to open the canal around it, and effect a passage for their transports.

The taking of Arkansas post is confirmed.

More gallant exploits of Morgan and Wheeler's cavalry at Murfreesboro.

SUNDAY AND MONDAY.—Still more

frequent reports of disaffection in the Federal army, near Vicksburg, and of troubles in the Northwest.

Small-pox reported very prevalent in Washington. It has existed for a long time in Richmond, and in many of the villages and towns of the Confederacy. War seems always to engender this hateful pest. Much alarm is excited by it and stringent measures are adopted for its prevention.

Burnside again addresses his heroes of the Rappahannock, telling them that the "auspicious hour has come for striking a great and mortal blow to the rebellion."

Gold in New York, 147 1-2.

Gentlemen direct from Arkansas confirm the report of the intelligence of the capture of *Arkansas Post*. The garrison, four thousand in number, was principally militia, who fought gallantly for several hours, until they were completely hemmed in by a greatly superior force, when they capitulated. Reinforcements were on the way, but failed to reach them.

TUESDAY.—Enemy's fleet of 92 sail, reported in Beaufort harbor, N. C. and 50,000 troops encamped at Morehead and Carolina City.

WEDNESDAY.—Vessels with valuable cargoes again run the blockade and enter our ports.

Fort McAllister near Savannah bombarded for several hours without effect. Leave for Selma, Alabama.

THURSDAY.—Blockaders at Charleston capture the British steamer *Princess Royal*, with a most valuable cargo of arms and ordnance works, machinery, projectiles, &c., intended for the Confederacy. It will be a severe loss.

Federal army is stuck in the mud, and prevented from making its second grand advance upon the Rappahannock.

A telegraph cable is to connect New Orleans, Pensacola, Beaufort, etc., with the Northern ports.

FRIDAY.—Van Dorn reported to have captured for the second time Holly Springs. Doubtful!

Gunboat carrying eleven guns surrenders to our forces on Stono River, S. C.

Burnside has yielded to Hooker, who now takes command of the army. In consequence gold advances to 152 in New York. A good sign! Another re-organization of the army is to precede offensive operations.

Reach Selma, Alabama.

SATURDAY AND SUNDAY.—Other vessels run the blockade with valuable cargoes.

Rumored that we have had a naval victory off Charleston bar.

MONDAY.—The news from Charleston comes in a very reliable way, and produces great rejoicing. We are fast becoming a naval power and shall in the end beat the enemy with their own weapons.

MERIDIAN, January 31.—Our fleet attacked the blockaders off Charleston harbor to-day, sunk two of them and set fire to another, the *Quaker City*, which struck her colors, but afterwards escaped. Not one of the enemy's fleet are in sight.

General Wheeler has destroyed five steamboats on the Cumberland river, and captured and destroyed a locomotive and five cars at Laverne, capturing the guard.

TUESDAY.—One of the Federal rams passed our batteries at Vicksburg with little damage. Though a second Gibraltar, the capture of this point is but a question of time in all probability, as all the means and resources of the enemy will be brought to bear. The report is that they are erecting batteries on the railroad just opposite the city, and are, no doubt, working on their famous canal at the same time. Their design would seem to be, therefore, to open the canal sufficiently to pass down their pontoon boats, and thus enable them to throw heavy columns of troops across the river below the city—to run some of their gunboats down under cover of darkness—and then make a simultaneous attack above and below, while the city is being shelled from the central batteries.

The vessel captured on Stono River, S. C., will prove a valuable prize. She mounts eleven guns and had a force of 200 men.

The Oveita, or Florida, has destroyed several Federal vessels.

The French Emperor has declined any further action in American affairs, and will hold off until invited by the enemy. How have we been deceived and baffled in all our foreign calculations! History may explain the enigma which baffles us now.

The arrest of an editor by Lincoln in Philadelphia gives rise to the greatest excitement, and action is taken in the Legislature and City Council in reference to this further effort of the Washington despotism. The editor had

lauded the message of Jefferson Davis in contrast with that of Abraham Lincoln.

Vallandigham tells the Federal Congress that the conquest of the South is impossible, as two years of woeful experience has proved, and warns them that in the end the West will go too.

Gold in New York 158, and cotton 90 cts.

The affair at Charleston is reported as follows: (Subsequent to the report a part of the fleet has returned, bringing with it one or two iron-clads, which keep steam continually on.)

CHARLESTON, January 31.

This morning the gunboats *Palmetto State*, accompanied by three small steamers, the *Clinch*, *Etoah* and *Chesterfield*, all under command of Commodore Ingraham, made an attack on the blockaders and succeeded in sinking two and crippling a third. The engagement commenced at four o'clock. The *Palmetto State*, with Commodore Ingraham on board, opened fire upon the Federal gunboat *Mercedita*, carrying 11 guns and 155 men, which was soon sunk in five fathoms water. Her commander and boat's crew came on board and surrendered. One shot entered her boiler, going clear through. Her crew were paroled by Commodore Ingraham.

Captain Tucker, of the *Cheves*, reports the sinking of another Federal gunboat and the disabling of the steamship *Quaker City*. The latter was set on fire by the *Cheves*, and hauled down her flag to surrender, but afterwards managed to escape, using only one wheel. She was very badly damaged. The number of blockaders outside at the time of the engagement was thirteen, with two first-class Federal frigates. The Federal loss is very severe. It was a complete surprise on our part, with not a man hurt. The vessels were not even struck!

All the blockaders have disappeared—not one to be seen within five miles with the strongest kind of a glass.

WEDNESDAY, 4TH FEBRUARY.—The formidable fleet and army concentrating at Beaufort, N.C., and Port Royal, are evidently in contemplation of an early attack upon Charleston. The information comes to us directly by the arrival of a British vessel from Havana.

Confederate steamer *Oveita* or *Florida* is committing great depredations on Northern commerce.

THURSDAY.—Weather for several days stormy, which will operate against the enemy on our sea coasts as well as in the interior.

Three Federal vessels reported to be captured at Sabine Pass, Texas.

Hopes of early peace grow fainter, despite of the enemy's demoralization.

There will be much more hard fighting and suffering.

FRIDAY AND SATURDAY.—Action near Alexandria, Tennessee, in which the enemy loses largely and Morgan's cavalry very slightly.

Kentucky Legislature provides for peace commissioners to Washington, Richmond, and other State Legislatures.

SUNDAY.—No mails and no news.

Witnessed yesterday the launch of two Confederate iron-clad rams, to be used in the defence of Mobile and the Alabama River.

They will do good service, and are creditable to Selma.

MONDAY.—Officially stated that our captures at Sabine Pass, Texas, embraced thirteen guns and property valued at one million dollars.

Northern account that Forrest has been repulsed with heavy loss at Fort Donelson.

After all, none of the blockading vessels off Charleston were sunk by our gunboats. They were only crippled.

Banks' army at Baton Rouge represented as greatly demoralized and unwilling to fight.

Rumors from New Orleans that the U. S. ship-of-war *Brooklyn* was sunk by our steamers *Alabama* and *Harriet Lane*.

The gunboat which passed our batteries the other day at Vicksburg is said to have captured some of our steamers on the Red River.

Prospect of an immediate fight at Vicksburg. The canal is likely to be a success, and transport vessels will soon be enabled to navigate it. The result cannot be foreseen. The augury is unfavorable. Fears for Vicksburg are well grounded.

TUESDAY-THURSDAY.—Nothing of interest reported in military movements.

Kentucky Legislature orders out 20,000 troops to resist Lincoln's emancipation proclamation. So the yoke of bondage at last galls, and there is a limit to submission.

Gold 162 in New York.

Floods of the Mississippi disconcert the enemy at Vicksburg, and stop their operations for the present.

General Sibley has gained a victory in Texas.

EDITORIAL BOOK NOTICES, ETC.

Messrs. C. B. Richardson & Co., of New York, are the publishers of "*A Southern History of the War*," by Edward A. Pollard, which they have issued in handsome style in one large volume and illustrated with about twenty steel engraved portraits of Confederate statesmen and generals. This is the same work which another publisher has issued under the title of the "Lost Cause," and to which we made reference in the last number of the REVIEW.

Mr. Richardson has also issued a very superb volume for the Christmas and New Year's holidays and for all home libraries, entitled *War Poetry of the South*, edited by Wm. Gilmore Simms, of South Carolina. The high reputation of Mr. Simms will sufficiently recommend the work, which he dedicates to the women of the South "who have lost a cause, but have made a triumph." It is believed that every poem or song, of any merit, inspired by the war is included in the collection, and many of them are of the highest merit and excellence.

Harper and Brothers furnish *Bound to the Wheel*, a novel, by John Saunders, author of "Abel Drake's Wife," *Felix Holt, the Radical*, a novel by George Elliot, author of "Adam Bede," etc., *Inside, a Chronicle of Secession*, by George F. Harrington, with illustrations. The last named is the production of a Southern Unionist, and, of consequence, presents that view of the subject, though the author in his dedication speaks of the Southern cause as "not overcome by man, but by the sublime will of Heaven, too mighty for the mightiest to resist."

Wm. J. Widdleton, of New York, has published Volume III. of Mr. Gayarré's great work on Louisiana, which brings down the whole subject to the date of the secession of the State from the Federal Union in 1860. The present volume treats exclusively of the American as the pre-

vious volumes did of the French and Spanish domination in the State. It is a work of the highest literary interest and full of new material in regard to the purchase of Louisiana and the subsequent schemes of Burr and others, for the separation of the West from the Union. The work will be appropriately referred to hereafter. We have only time now to say that it is issued in very neat style.

We are indebted to Richardson & Co., for the following from their new *Southern University Series of School-Books*—

1. Southern Elementary Spelling-Book.
2. Southern Pictorial Primer.
3. First, Second, Third and Fourth Readers.
4. First Lessons in Numbers.

These works are printed and bound in a neat and substantial manner, and are appropriately illustrated, being edited by George Frederick Holmes and Charles S. Venable, of the University of Virginia, gentlemen highly distinguished in the literary and educational circles of the South. They are worthy of our patronage.

Messrs. Sargeant, Wilson & Finkle, of Cincinnati, whose advertisement appears in our columns, are also the publishers of a series of *School Books*, well known and popular at the South. The following are laid upon our table:

1. McGuffey's New First, Second, Third, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Eclectic Readers.
2. McGuffey's Revised Eclectic Spelling Book.
3. McGuffey's New High School Reader.
4. do New Eclectic Speaker.
5. Pinneo's Series of Grammars.

They are printed in a style which combines beauty, cheapness, and uniformity, and immense editions are published and sold.

Mr. Colton, 172 William Street, New York, the largest publisher of Maps in

America, has been kind enough to forward us a large mounted map of Tennessee, together with pocket maps of Georgia and Mississippi, all entirely new, and embracing the most recent information and with accurate delineation of railroads, etc.

The assortment of *Pocket Maps* issued by Colton, is the finest and most extensive in the world, comprising about 250 varieties, of all styles, including County and Township Maps of all the States; Sectional Maps of all that have been thus surveyed; and Railroad Maps of various sections, as well as of the whole country. Foreign countries are well shown, both in detail and by Grand Divisions. All the Maps are engraved in the best style on copper plates, nicely printed on the best quality of thin, but very strong, map paper, made expressly for us, beautifully colored, and put up in neat embossed cloth covers of convenient size, with side titles in gold. They can be had at most first-class book-stores, or can be ordered, and received by return mail, by remitting the price as noted in the descriptive catalogue, which will be sent free to all applicants.

The assortment of *Wall Maps* for offices, libraries, schools, etc., is more extensive than that of any other house in the country. It embraces the only large maps of the World, and of Foreign Countries, published in America, and is full and complete in regard to general and special maps of the several sections of the United States.

Hurd & Houghton, of New York—"Authorship of Shakespeare." This is a volume from the pen of Nathaniel Holmes, which will form the basis of a lengthy article by us hereafter. The author's theory is not new, although he pushes it further than his predecessors have done. The possibility of Shakespeare being the sole author of the plays ascribed to him has been doubted at various times and disputed by various authors. In 1857, the theory was started by a previous sceptic, that Francis Bacon, Baron Verulam, the author of the "Novum Organ-

um," and the father of Inductive Philosophy, was the joint author with Shakespeare of the plays that have had so large a share in the education of mankind. Mr. Holmes, a "magni nominis umbra" in literature until now, endeavors to show that no other person had a hand in these works, but that the whole genuine canon of Shakespeare was written by Francis Bacon *per se*.

Julius Caesar, by the Emperor Napoleon. New York: Harper & Brothers. Vol. 2 is at hand and is elaborately reviewed in one of our leading articles as the first volume was several months ago.

Surrey of Eagle's Nest; or, Memoirs of a Staff Officer serving in Virginia. Edited from the MSS. of J. E. Cooke, author of *Virginia Comedians*, with illustrations. New York, F. J. Huntington & Co. A work full of the liveliest interest, which is greedily sought after wherever its reputation has extended.

D. Appleton & Co., place upon our table:—

1. *Social Statics, or the Conditions Essential to Human Happiness*. By Herbert Spencer, with notice of author and steel portrait.

This volume, the first and most popularly written of the works of the author, has very great interest in many respects. It foreshadows the philosophical system which it became the great business of his life to unfold, and which has given him so eminent a place among British philosophers of the Nineteenth Century.

2. *Origin of the Stars and the Causes of their Motion and their Light*. By Jacob Ennis Philad. The work consists of four parts:—

Part I. Cause of the Light and Heat of the Sun and Fixed Stars.

Part II. Force which Prolongs the Light and Heat of the Sun and Stars.

Part III. Origin of the Stars.

Part IV. Force which gave Motion to the Stars.

3. *Children of the Frontier*. The sketches

and incidents which form the leading feature of this little volume, are from the pen of Theodore Lund, a Danish artist, whose name is familiar to many lovers of art. A most agreeable book for young persons.

We have remarked upon the great progress which is being made to restore our cities. *Charleston* has come forward nobly and established a system of loan by means of which the public credit can be used in aid of individual enterprise, and soon we may expect to see that noble old city resume her former prosperity. From *Richmond* we learn that

A little Northern capital came here; but nine-tenths of the buildings that have been erected, have been built with the means of our own people. Eighteen months have not elapsed, and largely upwards of half of the burnt houses on Main Street — probably three-fourths — have been replaced, or are being replaced, with beautiful and substantial buildings. The skill of the architect has been taxed to devise handsome designs for the fronts, and every convenience that experience has taught to be useful in carrying on particular branches of business, has been introduced into the interior of the new buildings. Already, Main Street is one of the handsomest business streets in the city, and when existing gaps in it are filled up and the rubbish is removed, we will have reason to be proud of the taste, energy and determination of our people. But the rebuilding is not confined to Main street. Many handsome and convenient business houses have been built on Cary street, and many others are now going up. A handsome building has been erected on Shockoe Slip as a tobacco exchange. The Gallego mills, which were the largest flour mills in the world, are being rebuilt with increased capacity for making flour. Many of the cross streets between Main and Cary, have been rebuilt almost entirely; and all through the burnt district from the armory to Fourteenth street, and on Byrd Island, may be heard the sound of the hammer and trowel.

And nearly all of this work has been done and is being carried on with Southern capital. It is not done on credit, for the mechanics employed get their wages weekly. The old adage that "it is an ill wind that blows good to no one," is exemplified in this instance. Nearly all of our mechanics, carpenters, bricklayers, brickmakers, painters, plumbers, and, in fact, nearly every branch of mechanical

art has had constant and lucrative employment for the past twelve months.

We referred, in another place, to the pamphlet in regard to Southern lands recently issued by Mr. Withers, of Jackson, Miss. Now is the time, if ever, for Northern and foreign capital to find openings for the most advantageous investments. In a year or two from this time, matters will be very different. There is a popular idea at the North, that immigrants to the South are exposed to some sort of molestation. This is entirely unfounded, as the following certificate, issued from Madison county, Miss., will show:

We, the undersigned, Northern men and new settlers, have bought and leased plantations in the county of Madison, Mississippi, since the close of the late war; employing freedmen and tilling our lands with their work. We have noticed many letters in the Northern papers, which, so far as our locality is concerned, we consider defamatory, exaggerated and uncalled for; and should we remain silent to misrepresentations of our locality and its old citizens, it would be unjust towards those who have received us hospitably and treated us with civility.

In our neighborhood are many who have suffered losses of mules and horses, among them, some of the undersigned. But old residents have suffered from such losses more severely than new settlers; thus proving mule thieves will steal mules, no matter where found. With our neighbors we have had no difficulties, and none but satisfactory business relations.

The freedmen work for whom they please to contract with, in the same manner as farm laborers at the North. In numerous instances they are employed by Northern men who are their old masters' nearest neighbors. We think our lives and property as safe as those of old residents; that we can obtain justice in the courts if obliged to take that course, and that new comers can feel as secure here as in any sparsely settled agricultural community of our Western States.

Col. J. A. Bingham, of St. Louis, formerly of 1st Penn. Cavalry.

Frederick Billings, formerly of Worcester, Mass.

F. B. Pratt, formerly of Worcester, Mass.

L. B. Smith, formerly of Grafton, Mass.

John Humphreys, formerly of England.

Arthur Mathewson, late Surgeon U. S. N.

George Lyons, formerly of Ireland.

J. B. Richardson, formerly of Boston, Mass.

R. J. Rose, late Captain U. S. V., formerly of Western Penn.

C. H. Smith, late of Trumbull City, Ohio.
H. K. Austin, late of Borden, N. J.
Chauncey Tyler, late of Connecticut.
Mark Prime, late A. Q. M., U. S. V.,
Maine.
J. W. Deering, late of Maine.

The following statement we believe to be very nearly correct in showing the expenses and profits on a well conducted Southern cotton estate in ordinary seasons:

Estimate of the expense and profit in cultivating 650 acres of Mississippi or Yazoo Valley land—say 500 acres in cotton, and 150 acres in corn.

EXPENSES.

To hire 50 of hands, at \$150 per annum.....	\$7,500
To 50 bbls. Mess Pork, at \$40 per bbl.....	2,000
To 12½ bbls. Molasses, at \$40 per bbl.....	500
To Medicines.....	500
“ 80 Mules, at \$175 each,.....	5,250
“ 2500 bushels of corn at \$1.25 per bushel.....	3,125
To Fodder and Hay.....	1,000
“ Wagons, Ploughs, Hoes, Gear- ing, &c., &c.....	2,000
To Wages of Superintendent.....	1,250
“ Oxen, Milch Cows, &c.....	1,000
“ Stock Hogs, to raise bacon, for next year.....	500
To Incidental Expenses.....	1,500

Total Expenses.....\$26,125

INCOME.

By 500 bales cotton of 400lbs. each, at 80 cts.....	\$60,000
By 5,000 bushels of corn, at \$1 per bushel.....	5,000
By Fodder and Hay.....	1,500

Total Income.....\$66,500

Deduct expenses as above..... 26,125

Leaving for net profit.....\$40,375

A plantation in the Mississippi Valley that would have 650 acres of open land, would probably contain 1500 acres in the entire tract; and estimating this at \$25 per acre, would make \$37,500, which deducted from \$40,375, the net amount of profit, would leave a surplus of \$2,875, after paying for 1500 acres of choice valley land, and all the mules, cattle, hogs, farming implements, &c.

We have received a copy of the admirable address delivered before the *Virginia Agricultural Convention* by the Hon. Willoughby Newton, President, and shall refer to it more fully hereafter.

We can only now extract the just and heartfelt tribute which he pays to those eminent and pure Virginia patriots and farmers, St. George Cocke and Edmund Ruffin:

Philip St. George Cocke was the soul of chivalry and the type of the true Virginia gentleman. He entered upon the discharge of his duties as President of this society with all the ardor and enthusiasm of his nature, and by his princely munificence and enlightened zeal was chiefly instrumental in securing the brilliant success of our first and most magnificent exhibition. His sensitive nature felt too keenly the troubles of his country, and he died a martyr in her cause. The purity of his character and the beneficence of his actions were such that, if he must die, he left his friends but one cause of regret—that he had not fallen on the field of battle, where he courted death in defence of his native State, which he so dearly loved.

Of Edmund Ruffin what shall I say? A character of contrasts. By his stern integrity, and his kind, genial and affectionate manner to his friends, he secured their highest admiration and warmest regard. By his occasional acerbity of temper, which no one more regretted than himself, he sometimes incurred the lasting displeasure of gentlemen who, if they could have known him better and had approached him under different auspices, would have learned to love and respect him for the sterling traits of his character. He was a man to have warm friends and bitter enemies. But the grave covers all animosities. As an agriculturist he was without a rival. He opened a new path to agricultural improvement, and boldly led the way. His writings are a monument of the acuteness and comprehensiveness of his intellect, of his great research, and of the zeal and energy of his efforts to improve his native State. Posterity will regard him as a man of mark in the age in which he lived; this Society will continue to venerate his name; and Virginia will ever remember him as one of her greatest benefactors. He felt the keenest interest in the progress and result of the late disastrous civil war. He lived to hear of the fall of Richmond and the surrender of Lee. With the calm serenity of Cato, he argued his right to take his life; and, having resolved not to survive the liberties of his country, he followed the example of the illustrious Roman. Let us cover with the veil of charity the infirmity of a great intellect, unbalanced by public and private grief, and finally overwhelmed by a sense of the utter ruin of his country.

The great *Agricultural and Manufacturing Fair at New Orleans*, held during last month, was in many respects a success, and it is intended to continue them annually at that point. The happiest results will follow. We rejoice at such evidences of awakening Southern enterprise and spirit, and will endeavor in the next number of the *Review* to give the full particulars of the Fair.

The article on Missouri in the November number of the *Review*, was, we learn, from the pen of S. Waterhouse, Esq., of St. Louis, and was written at the instance of Governor Fletcher, in behalf of the Missouri State Board of Immigration.

THE REVIEW FOR 1867.—With our next Number will commence the *Third Volume of the New Series*, and the *thirty-fourth volume of the Review*.

It is a favorable time for new subscribers to send in their names, for Clubs to be formed at our reduced rates, and for remittances to be made, of which we are in great need.

The expenses of the *Review* are three times what they were in former days! Even the most trifling sums are gratefully received. We know, and make all allowance for, the necessities of the country; but there are numbers who, by a very small effort, or sacrifice, might aid us in this contingency.

REVIEW ADVERTISING INDEX.

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SOUTHERN ESTATES IN THE MARKET.

W. T. WITHERS, of Jackson, Miss., who is one of the most reliable gentlemen in the South, and one whose statements it gives us pleasure to indorse, has issued a pamphlet containing a list of over 100 fine Southern estates which have been placed in his hands for sale. We condense from the pamphlet a few facts in regard to each estate, but full information will be furnished by Mr. Withers whenever addressed upon the subject. His references are the best in the country, and will be forwarded when desired. He proposes to purchase and sell estates, and will guarantee satisfaction. Will examine titles and prepare papers, and aid in obtaining the most satisfactory superintendents and managers for estates. Northern capitalists may feel safe in his hands.—EDITORS.

1. Plantation in Madison parish, Louisiana, 1800 acres, 1100 of which cleared and ready for cultivation. Splendid improvements; admirable for stock-raising. Price \$50,000, half cash. The owner would prefer a partnership with some one having money.

2. Plantation in the same parish, 2603 acres, of which 300 well cleared and 200 more deadened. Has produced three bales to acre. Good improvements. Price \$30,000; worth \$140,000 before war. Half interest would be sold.

3. Plantation, Madison county, Miss., near Canton, 2690 acres, of which 1100 in cultivation. Excellent buildings, etc. House cost \$22,500 in 1859. Laborers now on the place. Price \$10 per acre, cash.

5. Plantation same county, five miles from Canton, 550 acres, 600 opened; good improvements. \$7 per acre.

6. Plantation same county, 1450 acres, 1150 cleared and in cultivation; fine improvements; horses and other agricultural stock, and laborers on the place. Price \$33,000, of which \$20,000 cash.

7. Plantation in Warren county, Miss., three miles from Vicksburg, 1500 acres, 700 acres cleared. Magnificent place, secure from high water. Price \$30 per acre, \$15,000 cash.

8. Valley Plantation, Yazoo county, Miss., 1700 acres, of which 800 are cleared. Place now occupied by Northern lessees. Splendid estate. Price \$37 per acre in instalments.

9. Plantation, Benton county, Miss., five miles from Benton, 1597 acres, 700 cleared. Price \$7 per acre, half cash.

10. Plantation on Yazoo River, near Sartatia, 1800 acres, 350 in cultivation; splendid wood land; good houses. Price \$12.50 per acre, cash.

11. Plantation, Sunflower county, Miss., 1090 acres, 500 cleared and deadened; good shipping point and improvements. Place now worked; \$15 per acre, half cash.

12. Valley Plantation, adjoining Greenwood,

on the Yazoo, Miss., 1560 acres, 450 in cultivation; fine improvements. Now rented at \$10 per acre. Price \$40 per acre, half cash.

14. Plantation, Sunflower county, Miss., four miles from Tallahatchie, 2700 acres, 400 cleared. \$10 per acre.

15. Same county, 540 acres, half cleared. Price \$40 per acre.

16. Same county, 2160 acres, 1800 cleared or deadened. Laborers on the place. Excellent stock and improvements. Price \$75,500, half cash. Magnificent place.

17. Same county, 1200 acres, half cleared, and above overflow. Price \$30,000, half down.

18. Plantation, thirteen miles above Yazoo City, Miss., 1640 acres, 500 cleared, and above overflow. Price \$40,000, half cash.

19. Splendid estate on Yazoo, Holmes county, Miss., 3,500 acres, 1300 opened and now under cultivation; free from overflow; machinery run by steam. Excellent improvements of all kinds. Price \$100,000. Laborers on the place.

21. Plantation on Tenness River, La., Madison parish, 1000 acres, 800 cleared. Sold for \$60 gold before the war. Price now \$30 greenbacks per acre.

22. Plantation, Carroll parish, La., 2000 acres, half cleared, good house, well drained. Price \$30 per acre.

25. Plantation, Chicot county, Ark., eight miles from the Mississippi, 1400 acres, one-third cleared and improved. Price \$15 per acre, cash. Prefers to sell half interest.

26. Plantation, sixteen miles from Grenada, Miss., 656 acres, one-third cleared. Price \$12 per acre.

27. Plantation, nine miles from Grenada, 570 acres, 400 cleared. Price \$5500, half cash.

28. Plantation, Carroll county, Miss., two miles from railroad, 1179 acres, half cleared and in cultivation. Excellent improvements. Corn and saw-mill, etc. Price \$15 per acre, half cash.

29. Plantation, Carroll county, two and a half miles from Valden, 1840 acres, 400 cleared. Price \$14 per acre.

30. Plantation, Carroll county, 800 acres, 300 cleared. Price \$6 per acre.

31. Plantation, Carroll county, 1440 acres, 300 cleared. Price \$5.50 per acre gold.

32. Plantation, Carroll county, near Duck Hill, 1400 acres, 600 cleared. Excellent improvements; laborers on place. Price \$20 per acre.

35. Plantation, Madison county, Miss., 1120 acres, nearly all cleared. Splendid improvements. House cost \$10,000 in gold. Price for place \$20,000.

36. Plantation, Hinds county, Miss., 1700 acres, 600 cleared. Price \$15 per acre.

37. Plantation, Hinds county, Miss., 320 acres, mostly cleared. (Sold cheap.)

40. Plantation in Hinds county, Miss., six miles west of Jackson, containing 560 acres, 250 cleared. Price \$10 per acre, all cash.

42. Plantation in Holmes county, Miss., containing 735 acres, 400 acres open. Price \$5 per acre, in gold, all down.
43. Number one cotton plantation in Holmes county, Miss., containing 2800 acres, 600 acres cleared. Price \$25 per acre. The owner prefers to sell a capitalist one-half interest.
45. Plantation in Yalabusha county, Miss., containing 583 acres, 300 acres cleared. Price \$8.50 per acre.
46. Plantation in Warren county, Miss., ten miles east of Vicksburg, containing 240 acres of very rich upland, 140 acres cleared. Price \$16 per acre.
47. Plantation in Claiborne county, Miss., containing 2000 acres of choice land. Price \$25 per acre.
48. Plantation adjoining the above, containing 560 acres. Price \$15 per acre.
49. Plantation in Adams county, Miss., twelve miles from Natchez, 1500 acres, 900 acres cleared. Fencing in good repair. Price \$25,000, in payments.
50. Mississippi Valley plantation, on Tensas River, in Concordia parish, La., 2007 acres, 600 of which are cleared. Price \$25 per acre.
51. Plantation on Tensas River, in Concordia parish, La., 1683 acres, 1400 acres cleared and ready for cultivation. This place will be leased.
52. Plantation in the same vicinity, containing 3108 acres, 1800 acres ready for cultivation, with very fine steam gin and mill. This place will be leased very low to a responsible tenant.
53. Plantation fronting on the Mississippi River, in Issaquena county, Miss., 706 acres. This place was not affected by the high water of 1865-66. Price \$30,000.
54. Plantation on the Yazoo River, four miles below Yazoo City, containing 1810 acres, 450 cleared, and 250 acres deadened. Price \$35 per acre.
55. A very fine Mississippi Valley plantation, fifteen miles west of Yazoo City, Miss., containing 1108 acres, 800 acres in cultivation, 200 acres more deadened. Price \$21 per acre, cash.
56. Valley plantation in Washington county, Miss., containing 1600 acres, 600 acres opened and ready for cultivation. Price \$30 per acre.
57. Plantation and wood-yard on the Mississippi River, in Washington county, containing 4100 acres, 400 acres cleared. Price \$20 per acre, cash.
58. Plantation on the bank of Red River, in the State of La., containing 2500 acres, 1250 acres in a fine state of cultivation. This place has on it 100 good hands, who are attached to the place, and most of them will remain. Only an interest of five-eighths is offered for sale.
60. Plantation in Neshobee county, Miss., containing 430 acres of very choice cotton land, 200 acres in cultivation. Price \$15 per acre.
61. Plantation in Kemper county, Miss., containing 1750 acres, 1000 acres cleared and under good fence. Price \$14 per acre in gold or silver.
62. A strictly first-class cotton plantation in Mississippi, twenty-one miles west of the city of Columbus, Miss., containing 9417½ acres, 1100 acres open for cultivation. Price \$34,000, cash.
63. Prairie plantation in Lowndes county, Miss., containing 372 acres, with 50 acres additional, detached from the main tract, 300 acres in cultivation. Price \$10,000.
64. Plantation near Brandon, Miss., containing 500 acres, 200 acres cleared. Price \$8 per acre cash.
65. Small plantation, four miles south of Brandon, containing 160 acres. Price \$10 per acre.
67. Plantation in Simpson county, 900 acres, 300 cleared, the rest heavily timbered with pine and other valuable timber. Price \$8 per acre.
68. Fine plantation in Madison county, Miss., containing 987 acres, 575 acres cleared and now in cultivation. Price for the entire property \$17,500 cash. This is a productive and very desirable cotton plantation, and has much over an average crop on it this season.
69. Choice cotton plantation, adjoining the town of Vernon, in Madison county, Miss., containing 1555 acres, about 900 acres cleared, and most of it in cultivation this season. Price \$12 per acre.
70. Plantation in Madison county, Miss., three miles north-west of Canton, the county seat, containing 1300 acres, about 900 acres cleared. Price \$15 per acre, in payments.
71. Plantation in Madison county, Miss., immediately on the line of the New Orleans and Jackson Railroad, two miles south of Canton, containing 1000 acres, 700 cleared. Price \$15 per acre.
72. Plantation in Madison county, Miss., three miles from Madison Station, containing 1406 acres, about 1000 acres cleared, the rest finely timbered. Price \$16 per acre.
73. Plantation on Big Black River, in Attala county, Miss., one and a half miles from Goodman Station, on Mississippi Central Railroad, 2000 acres, 800 acres of open land, almost all bottom land. Price \$10 per acre, cash.
75. Plantation in Carroll county, Miss., six miles from Valden Station, on the Mississippi Central Railroad, 1600 acres of productive land, 600 acres cleared and in cultivation this season. Freedmen on the place to work it, and have remained on it during the war. Price \$10 per acre.
77. Plantation in Holmes county, Miss. Price \$7.50 per acre in gold.
78. Plantation in Yazoo county, Miss., six miles from Vaughan's Station, on the Mississippi Central Railroad, 1940 acres, 650 acres cleared and under good fences. Price \$3 per acre.
79. Plantation lying on both sides of the Mississippi Central Railroad, at Vaughan's Station, containing 2000 acres, 800 acres cleared. Price \$12 per acre.
80. Plantation in Yazoo county, Miss., twelve miles from Vaughan's Station, and seventeen miles from Yazoo City, 640 acres, 400 acres cleared. Price \$20 per acre.
81. Plantation on Big Black River, in Yazoo county, Miss., containing 2800 acres, 1100 cleared. Price \$15 per acre in gold.

